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Kalidasa and Vikramaditya

*a historical and literary diversion to relieve the
monotony of retirement,*

4229

by

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Dedication.

With the prayerful hope that the little Avanti-bhushan, if Providence allows him to grow up, may love his country and its ancient culture, this book is dedicated to him by his affectionate grandfather—

the Author.

List of Abbreviations.

Abhijnāna-Sākuntalam	AS
Kumāra Sambhavam	KS
Malavikāgnimitram	MM
Meghadutam	MD
Raghuvamsam	RV
Ritusamhara	RS
Vikramorvasi	VV
General Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India by Mr S N Majumdar	AGI
Mr Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World	BBR
Meghadutam translated by Mr B C Mitra	BCM
Pandit V Renu's Bharatke Prāchīna Rajavamsa	BPR
Cambridge History of India (Vol I)	CHI
Mr Fleet's Corpus Inscriptions in India (2nd Edition)	CI
Dr R C Majumdar's Corporate Life in India (2nd Edition)	CL
Dr Keith's Classical Sanskrit Literature	CSL
Mr Vincent Smith's Early History of India	EHI
Kumāra-Sambhavam translated by Mr R Griffith	G
M M H P Śāstri in the Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society	J B O R S
Abhijnāna Sākuntalam translated by Mr J N Tagore	JT

Alavikāgnimitram translated by	
Mr J N Tagore	J I
Vikramorvas'ī translated by Mr J N Tagore	J T
Ancient India' by Mr J W McCrindle (published	
by Messrs Chakravarti & Chatterjee)	M A I
Abhijnana Śākuntalam translated by	
Sir Monier-Williams	M W
Raghuvamsam translated by	
Mr Nabin Chandra Das	N D
Raghuvams'ām translated by	
Mr P D L Johnstone	P D L J
Sir R G Bhandarkar's Peep into the Early History	
of India	P H I
Kumara Sambhavam translated by	
Mr Rangalal Banerjee	R L B
Dr Keith's Sanskrit Drama	S D
Ritumsamhara translated by Satyam Jayati	S J
Dr Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature	S L
Dr Shama Sastri's translation of Kautilya's	
Arthas'āstra	T K A
Mr A W Ryder's translations of Kalidasa's	
Works	T K R
Meghadutam translated by	
Mr H H Wilson	W
Vikramorvas'ī translated by Mr H H Wilson	W

Preface

One fine morning while I went for a constitutional to a Park of a well-known city, beautiful as the Garden of Eden, I tried to find out a secluded arbour where to rest awhile. I selected one and was about to enter it, when I found a gentleman of a poetic mien seated on a bench within it, and reading aloud in a musical voice Sanskrit passages from one of the three books he had with him.

Just then a gentleman of a judicial demeanour came in and sat beside the first. From their conversation it appeared that they professed the same profound subject at the Academy, and that both were poor—not poor in spirit, but poor in worldly belongings—the first had invested most of his all in a mansion in the country of the labor gines and the second in substantial securities and in a skyscraper—and that both were at a loss to find funds for a second edifice within the precincts of the palatial city. As they addressed each other by their sweet and honorific surnames, they seemed to be men of high distinction.

On being asked about the book he had been reading the first gentleman, without mentioning its name read out the following passage from it and also its English and Bengali renderings from the two other books—

अग्रे यान्ति रथस्य रेणुपदवी चूर्णीभवन्तो घना—

इवक्रान्तिररान्तरेषु वितनोत्पनगामिवारावलीम् ।

চিহ্ননয়নমিবাচল হৃদয়স্বায়ামবদ্বামর,

যদুগ্রে সম স্থিতো ধ্বজপট প্রান্তে চ বেগানিভাৎ —

(V V—I—21)

(Before the car)

Like volley'd dust the scattering clouds divide,
The whirling wheel deceives the dazzled eye,
And double round the axle seems to circle,
The waving chowrie on the steed's broad brow
Points backward, motionless as in a picture,
And backward streams the banner from the breeze.
We meet—immovable)—V

(বধ-অগ্রে মেঘ বাশি, চূর্ণ হযে ধূলি-জালে, হা পবিণত ,
চক্র অব-গুলি-মাবো, ভ্রম হয় আবো ধো, আছে আব কত ।
দ্রুত গতি অখ-শিবে চিত্র স্থিৰ, চামৰটি, দীৰ্ঘ প্রসারিত ,
বানু বেগে ধ্বজ-পট, ধ্বজপট প্রান্ত মথ্যে সম অবস্থিত ॥)—J T

The first gentleman then added, "See how the progress of the aerial chariot of Pururavas is vividly depicted. In the first place the rapid movement of the chariot wheels reduces clouds to dust, secondly the quick revolution of the wheels seems to produce another series of spokes in the intervals of the real ones, thirdly the chamaras which are tied on the heads of horses as ornaments appear to be motionless, as if they were painted on the heads of the figures of horses, and lastly the banner cloth spreads out in a horizontal line between the tip of its staff and its own end (which when at rest would otherwise dangle at the foot of the staff). Can any description be more natural and graphic than this?" The second nodded his assent

The first then added, "Here is another passage to match what I have read out"—

ग्रीवाभङ्गाभिराम मुहुरनुपतति स्यन्दने बद्धदृष्टि ,
पश्चाद्देन प्रविष्ट शरपतनभयाद्भूयसा पूर्वकायम् ।
दर्भैरर्द्धावलीढैश्चमविवृतमुखञ्च शिभिर्कीर्णवर्त्मा
पद्मोदग्रप्लुतत्वाद्वियति बहुतर स्तोकमुख्या प्रयाति ॥

(A S—I—2)

(See, there he runs,
Aye and anon his graceful neck he bends
To cast a glance at the pursuing car,
And dreading now the swift-descending shaft,
Contracts into itself his slender frame,
About his path, in scattered fragments strewn,
The half chewed grass falls from his panting mouth,
See, in his airy bounds he seems to fly,
And leaves no trace upon th' elastic turf)

—M W

(কিবা চান গ্রীবাভঙ্গে দিবে দিবে চায়
এক দৃষ্টে মুহুমূর্ছ বধটীৰ বাগে ,
শবপাত ভয়ে মুগ আকুঞ্চিত কাষ,
পশ্চাতেৰ দেহ যেন পশে পূৰ্বভাগে ,
শ্রমে আধো খোলা মুখ, ঝৰি তাহা হতে
অৰ্দ্ধেক চৰ্খিত তুণ পড়ে পাথ পথে ,
কি দীৰ্ঘ দিতেছে লক্ষ, মনে হয় তায়,
ব্যোম মার্গে গতি তাৰ অল্লই স্বায় ॥—J T)

The first gentleman then said, "There are numerous graphic descriptions of this sort in a single play of the Great Poet It is very difficult to choose some

and leave out the others. In the passage just now cited, we are face to face with King Dushmanti who is pursuing an antelope in his chariot and describing the fleeing deer with such accurate details as can be expected only from a veteran huntsman. The remarks of the charioteer (युक्तेषु रथया—A S—I—6) on the appearances of the four flying steeds drawing the chariot and those of the king in reply (यदालोके रथजवात्—A S—I—7) on the aspects of things, when the chariot is tearing its way through the forest, are equally vivid and show the Poet's accurate observation of and deep insight into the things around him. The second gentleman expressed his appreciation of the extract. The first then continued, 'Let me read out another passage of unsurpassed beauty. It is unequalled in the delineation of tender emotion and in the description of the exaltation of love. Love has taken possession of the whole being of the Lover, who sees his Beloved in all objects animate and inanimate.' He then read out the following with his usual musical modulation—

तरङ्गभ्रूभङ्गाक्षुभितविहगश्रेणिरक्षणा
विकर्षन्ती फेन वसनमिव सरम्भशिथिलम् ।
यथा जिह्वा याति स्खलितमभिसन्धाय बहुशो
नदीभावेनेय ध्रुवमसहमाना परिणता ॥ —V V —IV 73

(The rippling wave is like her arching brow,
The fluttering line of storks, her timid tongue,¹
The foamy spray her white loose floating vest,
And this meandering course the current tracks,

Should be 'her loin band

Her undulating gait, all these recall
My soon-offended love—I must appease her)—\

(তবঙ্গ ক্রান্ত বেন, কুণ্ডিত বিহঙ্গ বাজি
—বণনা উদার ।

সঙ্গম^১ শিখিল বাস, বেনবাশি-কপে বেন
কবিছে বিস্তার ।

চলিছে স্থলিত গতি, চিস্তি অপবাদ মম
মনে অবিবত,
না পাবি সঙ্গিত আর—নিশ্চয় সে হইয়াছে
নদী পরিণত ॥)—J T

When the first gentleman had reached the third line of the English translation, the second became restless, but when the second line of the Bengali rendering was being read out, the second stood up and left the place abruptly saying, "Such a passage—nay such a book in which such a passage occurs—should be let severely alone. Moreover is not the heroine a hetæra though of heaven?" Then the gentleman of a poetic mien also rose, and followed the gentleman of a judicial demeanour, saying—

অরসিকেষু রসস্য নিবেদনম্ ।

শিরসি মা লিখ, মা লিখ, মা লিখ ॥

(May God the Author, of Man's Destiny,
Not ever to me such a fate decree,
As to be made fine sentiments to teach
To those who off and on dry sermons preach)

I **স রসম্** means (1) anger in the case of Urvasi and (2) force in that of the river current **সঙ্গম** means 'intense emotion'

I was very curious to know the names of the books from which the passages were extracted, but since the gentlemen were strangers and men of eminence, as appeared from their honourable surnames, I did not venture to approach them

On my way home I fortunately met a friend of mine, a Sanskritist and an author of international fame coming with others of a priestly deportment out of a deceased rich man's house with costly presents as ponderous as his alliterative surname. When I narrated to him my morning adventure, and showed to him the passages I had jotted down on a piece of paper with a pencil, he smiled *significantly* and remarked that one might utilise one's leisure in popularising the Classics by means of their vernacular and English renderings and added that the Author of the extracts was none other than Kālidāsa, the finest of the gems, that enhanced the beauty and glory of the court of the Great Vikramāditya, with some particulars concerning both of whom I shall try to acquaint the reader in the following pages—

the Author

INTRODUCTION

Ye whose hearts are beating high
With the pulse of Poesy,
Heirs of more than mortal race,
Framed by Heaven's peculiar grace
God's own work to do on earth

Keble

'Poetry', as Shelley says, is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds" Wordsworth echoes this sentiment in other words—Poetry is the first and last of all knowledge—it is as immortal as the heart of man" These are not mere idle words—they are the words of those who themselves are—

The Poets, who on earth have made us heirs
Of truth and pure delight, by heavenly lays

Such are also the utterances of Kalidasa, the most famous lyrical epic and dramatic Poet of India, who has been styled the Indian Shakspeare by Sir William Jones, and whose *Sakuntala* and *Meghaduta* have drawn unstinted admiration from Goethe, the greatest German Poet, and have led him to model the prologue of his masterpiece *Faust*, after the prelude of the former.

Though this 'dear son of Memory' and 'great heir of Fame' does not need such weak efforts as ours to

locate him in time and space, yet we, who cannot aspire to build for ourselves a 'live long monument' in the wonder and astonishment of our fellow beings, attach much importance to the date and place of birth of this World Poet—this finest flower of Brahmanical culture' as Dr Keith styles him

A poet of inferior merit would have resorted to various mean devices to perpetuate himself in his works, but Kālidāsa who knew that his verse would be his enduring monument,

'Not marble nor the gilded monuments

Of princes shall outlive this powerful rhyme,"

left to the ingenuity of the posterity all the guesswork regarding the place and date of his birth, and also regarding the spuriousness or genuineness of certain works, which have been fathered upon him

Scholars and antiquarians are still divided as to the date of Kālidāsa. They have proposed three approximate dates in connexion with the time when he flourished. First 58 B C, when the era of the legendary king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, the enemy of the Sakas or Scythians, began. Secondly, 410 A D, when Chandragupta II of the Gupta Dynasty, who was styled Vikramāditya, reigned. Thirdly, 525 A D when Yas'odharmān, the king of Central India defeated Mihiragula, the king of the White Huns

Chapter I

Kalidasa and Vikramaditya of 58 B C

'Fable is the elder sister of History'—Voltaire

In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* Kalidasa's famous drama, the Sutiadhara or stage manager says to his wife the actress—

“आर्य्ये । रसभावविशेषदीक्षागुरोर्विक्रमादित्यस्य नरपतेरभिरूप
भूयिष्ठा परिपद्यिम् । अद्य खलु कालिदासप्रथितवस्तुना अभिज्ञान
शकुन्तलनामधेयेन नवेन नाटकनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभिः ।”

(Respected Lady this is the learned assembly of King Vikramaditya, who is himself an eminent dramatic critic. We are to represent today *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* the new historical play of Kalidasa.)

From the above we find that Kalidasa the dramatist flourished in the reign of Vikramaditya. We do not know anything definitely about the first king who assumed the title of Vikramaditya, except the tradition that his capital was at Ujjain in Central India, that he initiated the Vikrama Samvat or Era which began in 58 B C, that he was the enemy of the Sakas or Scythians and that he was a patron of learned men.

It will be wrong to assert that the first Vikramaditya was a mere imaginary king, simply because no inscriptions or coins have as yet been found in

connection with his reign. What Mr Vincent Smith says regarding Samudragupta (330-380 A. D.) of the Gupta Dynasty, 'the Napoleon of India' as he calls him, ought to warn us against such an assumption—'By a strange irony of fate this great king—warrior, poet and musician—who conquered nearly all India, and whose alliances extended from the Oxus to Ceylon was unknown even by name to the historians of India until the publication of this work. His lost fame has been slowly recovered by minute and laborious study of inscriptions and coins during the last eighty years' ¹

In the Calcutta Englishman of the 7th February, 1927 Mr Michael Temple says in connection with the legend of the lost continent of Atlantis 'But we are getting to understand now that whenever we have an ancient legend there is always some sort of truth behind it. Legends do not grow from nothing any more than anything else, there must be a seed, though the plant, which has sprung from it may have taken a strange and almost unrecognisable form' "

In Gathasaptasatī or Saptasāṭaka (seven centuries) an 'anthology of erotic verses written in the ancient dialect of Mahārāṣṭra' ² the following couplet occurs—

सवाहणसुहरसतोसिण्ण देन्तेण तुहकरे हवस्स ।

चललेण विक्कमाइच्च चरिअमणुसिक्खिअ तिस्सा ॥

1 E H I p 306

2 Ibid p 220

which may be translated into Sanskrit as—

सवाहन सुखरसलोपितेन दन्ता तवकरे लक्षम् ।

चरणेन विक्रमान्त्य चरितमनुशिक्षित तस्या ॥

(She by giving you a lie for your pleasant rubbing of her foot has imitated the liberality of Vikramaditya) So Minoratha is also mentioned by the Chinese traveller as having paid a lie or gold to a barber for having his head (see Chap III)

"Prof Sir R. G. Bhattacharya has suggested that probably either King Hui, the seventeenth king of the Andhra Dynasty, may have been the author of the Githa or it may have been dedicated to him. M. M. H. P. J. notes that Hui cannot be placed later than the first century A. D. and that the Saptasatī mentions a King, named Vikramaditya who may be the founder of the era" ²

According to Herodotus the Greek Historian the Persians denoted all Scythian nomads by the term Sakai. About 165 B. C. a horde of nomads, named the Yuechi, probably an Iranian tribe being defeated by a tribe of Turki nomads, were compelled to quit Northwestern China, and to migrate westwards for fresh pasture grounds. In the course of their migration, they encountered and defeated the Sákis, who inhabited the country west of the Wusun and north of the Jaxartes. Being thus driven away one branch of the Sakis settled in Sakastene, the

1 Quoted in B. P. R. Vol II pp 353-350

2 I. H. I. p 230

modern Sistan or the S'aka Country, formerly Drangiana and another branch attacked the kingdoms of Parthia and Graeco Bactria between 140 and 120 B C. The latter was destroyed, and the former weakened. Then the two branches of the Sakas being united, made their way into India through the northern passes. Some of them settled at Taxila in the Punjab and at Mathura on the Yamuna, where their kings assumed the title of **सत्तप** or Satrapas and ruled for more than a century seemingly in subordination to Parthian kings. Another section of the horde about the middle of the first century A D occupied Surashtra or Kathiawar, and ruled under the designation of Kshatrapas till about 390 A D when their kingdom was destroyed by Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty.¹

It is just possible that the S'akas, who had settled at Mathura about the first century B C, moved further south, and in 58 B C encountered Vikramaditya, the king and commander in chief of the warrior clan of the Malavas, or the Suzerain of the Muava Princes, who inflicted on them a crushing defeat, which rendered the further southward advance of the Barbarians at least for some time impossible. This glorious victory of the chief of Ujjayini over the S'aka horde can be fitly compared with that won much later on the great battle field of Chalons in 451 A D by the allied Latin and Teutonic troops over Attila, the Scourge of gods', and his Huns, or with

1 E H I and B P R

that won in 732 A D by Charles Martel on the critical battle field of Tours over the Arab host, which had invaded Gaul, both of which saved Western Europe from imminent peril. Such a victory could naturally capture the imagination of the Malavas, who conferred on their king the title of Vikramaditya or the 'Sun of Prowess' and associated an era with the first year of his rule or with the decisive and cardinal victory achieved by his skill and valour. Well might the Malavas apply to their general the lines used by Wordsworth in a different context—

(Yet) 'Shall thy name conspicuous and sublime
Stand in the spacious firmament of time,
Fixed as a star: such glory is thy right

The continuance of his era for more than two thousand years would naturally be a strong proof of his real existence as a powerful king of Central India. But inscriptions discovered up to the present time have established the fact that the name of Vikrama occurs first in connexion with the era, which began in 5557 B C in an inscription of Chahaman Chanda Mahasen at Dhaulpur—"वसुनव अष्टौवर्षा गतस्य कालस्य विक्रमाख्यस्य" or engraved in 848 Vikrama era, corresponding to 841 A D. In earlier inscriptions and copper plates the name Malava occurs—

(a) श्रीर्मूर्तिवगणान्नाते प्रशस्तकृतसहिते—

एकषष्ठ्यधिके प्राप्ते समाशतचतुष्टये ।

[In the year 461 of the era described highly praised, and named Krita or (the beginning of) Satya yuga by the Malavagana],

(b) कृतेषु चतुर्षु वा शतेष्वकाशितुत्तरपदस्या मात्र पूर्वाया
(Done in the year 181 of the era having the term
Mila before it)

(c) पञ्चसु शतषु शरदा, यात'वेकोनवतिसहितेषु,

मालवगणस्थितिवशात्कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ।

(Written for giving information regarding time in
the year 589 of the era connected with the Settlement
of the Malavas)

(d) सवत्सरशतैयाते सगचनवत्यगलै सप्तभिम्मालवेशाना ।

(In the year 795 of the era of Malava chiefs or
kings)¹

Now who were the Malavas? What was the
nature of their Constitution? If it was a republican
one—we use the term republic in its modern sense—
then King Vikramaditya must be merely legendary
and had no real existence

In the third Chapter of the second part of the
Vishnupurana the Malavas are described as मालवा
(Malava) Similarly it mentions Pundrah Kalingah,
Magadhab and others. These plural designations
as in शाकलवासिन, inhabitants of the district of
Shakala or Sialkot, signify the inhabitants of parti-
cular districts or divisions

In Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, 2
the name 'Malava' occurs—

‘समतट—दवाक—कामरूप—नेपाल—कनृपुरादिप्रत्यन्तनृपतिभिर्माल-
वाजुनायनयोधेयमद्रकाभीरप्राजुनसनकनीककाकखरपरिकादिभिश्च’

1 a-d—quoted in B P L

2 C I -1

or "(obeyed) by the frontier kings (प्रत्यन्तनुपतिभिः) of Samatata, Davaka, Kamarupa Nepala, Kartripura and other countries, and by the Malavas, Arjunyanas, Yaudhejas, Madrakas Abhiras, Prajunas, Sanakanikas, Kikas, Kharaparikas and others'

From the above some scholars¹ have drawn the conclusion that the Malavas, Yaudhejas, &c were not ruled by kings. This conclusion from the omission of the name of King is not, however, warranted in our opinion by the fact that in the next sentence occurs—

“देवदुतवाहिपाहानुवाहि शरमुष्णैः सहस्रकादिभिश्च”

or by the 'Davaputras, Shahis, Shahanushahis, Sakas and Murundas and the people of Simhala and others' We know that at least Simhala or Ceylon was ruled during the time of Samudragupta by a Buddhist king of the name of Merhavarna (352-379 A D), who 'despatched a mission to Samudragupta laden with the gems for which Ceylon has always been renowned, besides other valuable gifts, and requested permission to found a monastery on Indian soil'²

We have seen, however, that in some inscriptions the Malavas are referred to as a gana (गण). It is difficult to determine definitely the meanings of the terms Gana, S'eni, Puga, Samgha, Brata, and Kula

1 C L p 230

2 B H I p p 303 and 304

3 “नाना जातीया अनियतवृत्तय उल्सेधजीविन सभाञ्जता”

or a P at is a union of men belonging to different castes and

which were used in ancient India to denote cities. We are sometimes misled by the terms guild, corporation, democracy &c., which we use as their equivalents and which denote the industrial and political units of Europe nurtured in an environment sometimes very dissimilar to that of ancient India.

In *Vishnu Smriti* 11 Puṇa is explained thus—

‘पुगं समूहं भिन्नजातीनाम् भिन्नवृत्तीनाम् एकस्थानवासिनाम्
ग्रामनगरादिस्थानाम्’

or a village or a town union consisting of different castes and different occupations. There also occurs गणशब्द प्रापञ्च्यः of gana and puga are synonymous.

The word ‘gana’ was used also in another sense—

“कुलानाहि समूहस्तु गणं सम्परिकीर्तितम्”

or a gana or clan is a collection of kulas or families. In the *Santiparva* of the *Mahabharata* Bhishma being asked by Yudhishthira about the conduct (वृत्ति) of ganas says—

गणानाञ्च कुलानाञ्च राज्ञा भरतसत्तम ।
वैरसन्दीपनावेतौ लोभामयौ नराधिप ॥

अर्थश्चेवाधिगम्यन्ते सघातं बलं पौरुषैः ।
बाह्याश्च मैत्रीं कुर्वन्ति तेषु सघातवृत्तिषु ॥

having no regular means of livelihood but generally living by means of slaughter (see C L page 222)

प्राज्ञान् शरान्महोत्साहान् कमधु स्थिरदोरुधम्न ।
मानयन्त सदा युक्ता विवर्द्धन्ते गणा नृप ॥
द्रव्यवन्तश्च जूराय शस्त्रजा शास्त्रपारगा ।
कृच्छास्त्रायसु समृटान् गणान् सन्तारयन्ति ते ॥
क्रोधो भेनो भय दण्ड कर्षण निग्रहोवय ।
नयत्यरिवशा सद्यो गणान् भरतमत्तम ॥

तस्मान्मानयितव्यास्ते गण मुख्या प्रधानत ।
लोकवाता समायत्ता भूयसी तेषु पाथिव ॥
मन्त्रगुप्ति प्रधानेषु चारश्चामित्कर्षण ।
न गणा कृ.सन्शो मन्त्र श्रोतुमर्हन्ति भारत ॥
गणमुख्यैस्तु सम्भूय कार्य्य गणहित मिय ॥
पृथग्गणस्य भिन्नस्य विततस्य ततोऽन्यथा ।
अर्था प्रयजसीदन्ति तथानर्था भवन्ति च ॥
तेषामनोन्यभिज्ञाना स्वशक्तिमनुतिष्ठताम ।
निग्रह पण्डिते कार्य्य क्षिप्रमेव प्रधानत ॥
कुलेषु कलहा जाता कुलवृद्धैरपेक्षिता ।
गोत्रस्य नाश कुर्वन्ति गणभेदस्य कारकम् ॥
आभ्यन्तरभय रक्ष्यमसार बाह्यतोभयम् ।

जात्या च सदृशा सर्वे कुलेन सदृशास्तथा ॥

भेदाच्चैव प्रदानाच्च भिन्दन्ते रिपुभिर्गण
तस्मान् सङ्घातमेवाहुर्गणाना शरण महत् ॥

(Of the two of Bhurata the two excellent causes of merit among the kings of ganas and kshatriyas are a sincere and untiring tolerance)

When a gana is united its power and efforts enable it to acquire wealth and foreign power, conclude alliances with a gana which is united and not torn asunder by dissension

O king when ganas always pay due respect to (their) wise, valiant, enthusiastic and resolute (members or officers) they prosper

Rich, heroic, warlike and learned (members or officers) save ganas overwhelmed with miseries and dangers

O the noblest of the Bharatas anger, dissension, fear, punishment, extortion, oppression, and murder always drive ganas into the clutches of the enemy. Therefore the elders of a gana through their President (that is the elders who are heroic, learned, etc. presided over by one who is the fittest, among them) are to be respected, because, O king, they are very well versed in worldly affairs

O enemy-oppressor, O king secret counsel and spies (are to be at the absolute disposal) of the President. The whole assembly of a gana are not fit to hear (or to deal with) those secret matters. The elders of a gana assembling together should transact secretly business, which are conducive to the well being of the whole community. Otherwise a gana is separated dis

united and to a ruler and wealth recedes and calamities ensue

When the members of a gana are disunited, and act each on his own account, this should at once be checked by the learned (elders) through their President. When there is a quarrel in kulas or big families (of which a gana is a collection), and when it is disregarded by the elders or these kulas, it leads to the disunion and final destruction of the gana, gotra, or clan. Internal dissension is to be more feared and guarded against than fear (or aggression) from without. All the members of a kula are to be regarded as equals by birth and all the kulas and families constituting a gana are to be regarded as equal to one another. The enemy tears asunder or destroys a gana by sowing dissension among and bribing its members. Therefore unity has been said to be the best refuge of a gana.)

From the above we may deduce the following —

(a) In the epic age there were republican institutions called ganas

(b) Each gana was composed of kulas or big families

(c) Each kula had a Raja or Ruler or President, and every gana had at its head a Raja or President

(d) Every gana and most probably every kula had its own assembly consisting of the most experienced and competent members of the community. The gana assembly most probably consisted of the Presidents of kula assemblies

(e) The special and secular court apart from it was at the disposal of the President or a ganga

(f) All the members of a kula or family and all kulas had equal political privileges

In Kautilya's Arthashastra which according to Mr V. Smith describes the state of things, a existed immediately before the establishment of the Maurya Empire by Chandragupta in 322 B.C. occur —

कुलस्य वा भवेद्राज्यं कुलमहाहि इज्य ।

अराज्यसनाबाध क्षत्रदावसति क्षितिम् ॥

'Sovereignty may (sometimes) be the property of a clan, for the corporation of clans is invincible in its nature, and being free from the calamities of anarchy can have a permanent existence on earth'

Though Gana is not mentioned it was nothing but a Kulasamgha or a union of kulas or big families which ruled territories. Freedom from the calamities of anarchy evidently implies that when a King or President died or was killed in war or was found unfit, the fittest member of the community succeeded him and thus obviated anarchy or political disorder.

The word श्रेणी or class like the word गण had two special meanings. It was applied to a union or guild of manufacturers or traders. In Vatsabhata's Mandasor stone inscription engraved in 473 A.D. during the reign of Kumaragupta II in commemoration of the erection and repair of a pillar constructed in honour of the Sun god, the word 'Shreni' is applied

to the union or guild of self-reared 'stras' also used to signify a political group. In Kautilya's Arthaśāstra under the heading मङ्गवृत्तम्, or the conduct of Samghas (unions, groups, communities, or corporations) occurs the following couplet—

काम्भोज सुराष्ट्र क्षत्रिय श्रेष्ठ्यादयो वार्त्ताशस्त्रोपजीविन ।

निच्छिन्निक—वृजिक—मल्लिक—मद्रक—कुकुर—कुरुपाञ्चालादयो
राजशब्दोपजीविन ॥

This is translated by Dr Srinivas S'astri thus—
“The corporations of warriors (Kshatriyas reni) of Kamboja and Surashtra and other countries live by agriculture, trade and wielding weapons. The corporations of Licchhivika, Vrijika, Mallika, Madrake, Kukura, Kuru, Panchala and others live by the title of a Raj.”

‘Samghabrittam’ appears to be taken by Dr S'astri as meaning “सङ्घाना वृत्तम्” or ‘conduct of corporations’. It should rather be translated into ‘सर्वेषु राज्ञ वृत्तम् (आचरणम्)’ or the dealings of a king (who wants to be powerful) with industrial and political groups.

Kshatriyas reni may not necessarily mean ‘a corporation of warriors’ and the word Kshatriya may refer to the Kshatriya caste. That this is so is evident from the fact that some of these Kshatriyas lived by means of वार्त्ता, i.e., trade and agriculture. It is difficult to determine whether the Licchhivikas, Vrijikas &c belonged to the

Kshatriya caste or not. So far as the Lichchhvikas are concerned, there are good grounds for supposing that they were Kshatriyas by caste. In the Vāyupurāṇa (ch 99) occurs the following —

महानन्दिसुतश्चापि शुद्राया कालसकृत् ।

उपत्यजेते महापद्म सव्यक्षत्वान्तरे नृप ॥

(At the end of all Kshatriya Kings, Mahapadmananda, the son of the King Mahanandi by a Sudra woman will reign) This proves that the Sisunaga dynasty to which Mahanandi belonged was Kshatriya by caste. The Vishnupurana also corroborates the statement—

“महानन्दिसुत, शुद्रागर्भोऽभवोऽतिलुब्धो महापद्मनन्द परशुराम इवा
परोऽखिल क्षत्वान्तकारी भविता” ।

(the avaricious King Mahapadmanandi, who will be the son of Mahanandi by a Sudra woman will destroy the Kshatriyas like Parasurama. From that time Sudras will become Kings)

Ajatasatru sent a message to the Mallas—‘The Lord (Buddha) is a Kshatriya and so am I. Therefore I deserve a share of the relics’¹. We know that the mother of Ajatasatru of the Sisunaga dynasty was a Lichchhavi, and also that Samudragupta always prided himself on his being the son of a daughter of the Lichchhavis. Gupta was generally the surname of the Vaisyas. The Brahmins were

¹ Quoted by Mr B C Law from Mahanibban Suttanta (translated by Mr R Dwyer) in his Some Kshatriy Tribes of Ancient India

styled Sarmā, the Kshatriyas Varmā, the Vaisya Gupta and the Śūdras Dasa. So it is just possible that Samudragupta felt himself honoured by his mother being the daughter of the celebrated Kshatriya clan of the Lichchhavis. In the Mahapaṇṇāsa Suttanta occurs the following—‘The Lichchhavis of Vesālī sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying ‘The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One’¹

From the above it will appear that the Lichchhavis, Viṣṇis &c, were probably Kshatriyas by caste. Therefore the meaning of Kautilya's couplet (quoted on p 15) may be—‘Of the Kshatriya groups, the Kambhojas, the Surashttras and others live by trade, agriculture or war, and the Lichchhavikas &c live by the title of Rāja or King (i.e., designate their chiefs as Rājās or Kings) Mr B C Law's explanation—This apparently means that among these peoples—Lichchhavis Mallas &c—each citizen had the right to call himself a rājā, i.e., dignitary who did not owe allegiance or pay revenue to any one else’² seems to be inconsistent with what he says later on³ after quoting Professor Bhāṇḍarkar, that every Lichchhavi Rājā had an uparāja or viceroy, a senapati or general

1 Quoted by Mr B C Law from Mr R Davids' translation in his *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India* p 8

2 Ibid p 65

3 Ibid p 94

and a Bhand g rika or treasurer. One could not call oneself a r ja, nor would one appoint a viceroy, a general and a treasurer, unless one had subjects. From this it will be evident that the word Sreni in the couplet refers to (a) the union or guild of agriculturists, traders and manufacturers with the President or सङ्घमुख्य at its head, (b) the union or corporation of warriors under its chief or, सङ्घमुख्य and (c) the political group (also called गण gana) like the Lichchhavis with the title of Raja or King.

In the same chapter of the Arthashastra occur not only सङ्घमुख्या or Heads of Unions, but also कुमारका or Princes (sons of kings) as Dr Sastri translates it.

We have seen that in Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription occur the names of—Malavas, Ajunjanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, &c. The Malavas were also designated as Malavagana, as in Vatsabhatti's Mandasor stone inscription—मालवाना गणस्थित्या or 'reckoning from the tribal constitution of the Malavas'.¹ In Samudragupta's inscription the juxtaposition of the Malavas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, &c establishes the fact that the constitutions of these tribes were similar. In Kautilya's Arthashastra (Ch. XI) though the Malavas (unless they are the same as the Mallakas) and the Yaudheyas are omitted, yet the Madrakas and the Lichchhavis are placed in the same category. Therefore there is reason to believe in the similarity of the constitu-

the north from the Lichchhavis Yaudheyas
Mitrakas and Malavas

So far as the Lichchhavis or the Lichchavila
clan are concerned the Arthashastra says that they
lived by the title of Raja. This means that their
chiefs were called Rajs or Kings. Dr Majumder
refers to Ekapanna Jitaka¹ and says that the
Lichchhavis of Vaisali (Bisr in Mozufferpore,
had seven thousand seven hundred and seven Kings
and an equal number of Viceroys, Generals and Treasurers. He also refers to Bhadda Sula Jitaka, and
says that the commander in chief of Kosala violated
a sacred tank of the Lichchhavis by making his wife
bathe in it, and was pursued by five hundred
Lichchhavi Kings.² Buddha refers to a *parisam*
or general assembly of this Community.³

In the Bijaygadh Stone inscription of the
Yaudheyas⁴ occurs "यौधेयराजपुरस्कृतस्य महाराजमहास्येनापते"
or 'of the maharaja and mahasenapati who has
been placed in the front by the Yaudheyaganis.

That some of these tribal republics of the days
of the Mahabharata may have degenerated into
oligarchies in the time of the Arthashastra and in
the age of the inscriptions, is indicated by the use

1 C. L. P. 229 The number 7707 is used for the sake of
symmetry

2 Ibid P. 227

3 Ibid p. 226

4 C. I.—No 58

of not only the title Rajā, which occurs also in the Mahābhārata in connexion with the head of the family or of the Gana, but also of the title Kumāraka (Prince as translated by Dr. Shama Sastry) in connexion with the names of the sons of these Rājās or chiefs. The Bauddha Jātaka mentioned above also refers to the Viceroys, Generals and Treasurers of the Rājās or Kings of the Lichchhavi clan. It appears that in course of time the headships of kulas or big families became hereditary, that is, the eldest son succeeded his father as in monarchies properly so-called. But the Cabinet of Princes continued, and either temporarily in times of emergency or permanently the President or Mahārāja and Mahāsēnāpati—the great king and commander in chief—was elected as in the inscription 'Yaudheyagana &c' (see p 19). Now King Vikramāditya of Ujjayini might have been such a Mahārāja and Mahāsēnāpati, who was elected permanently by the Mālavas both on account of his being a great administrator and also on account of his prowess and military skill evinced in his defeat of the Saka horde.

In the Cambridge History of India Vol. I, the Vikrama Era is identified with the era of Azes I of the Scythio-Parthian or Indo-Parthian dynasty which ruled the western Punjab or the Kingdom of Taxila. Sir John Marshall has discovered a Kharoshthi inscription in the Chir Tope at Taxila, which is dated the fifth of the month of Āshadh in

the year 136 of Aves (Avast = of Azes) The monarch then ruling at Taxila is described as Great King Supreme King of kings, Son of gods, Khushna. From this Sir John Marshall and Professor Rapson have concluded that it is the inscription of Kadphises the Kushan King and that the Vikrama era was really inaugurated by Azes I. Sir John Marshall identifies this Kadphises with Kujula Kadphises the predecessor of Vima Kadphises (who was succeeded by the famous Kushan King Kanishka), while Professor Rapson identifies him with Vima. He adds that the Malavas were the tributaries of the suzerain Azes I and borrowed the era from him. He says, "The use of an era can be shewn in well ascertained cases to have spread from the suzerain to the feudatories. Is there any reason to suppose that extension in the contrary direction—from feudatory to suzerain—has ever taken place or could possibly take place?"¹

The conclusion of Professor Rapson though very ingenious is liable to the following objections

- (1) No name is given in the inscription
- (2) Vima Kadphises is given in his coins the epithet 'the Kushan chief' and not 'Son of the gods'
- (3) If it belonged to the Kushan King Vima Kadphises, who had become powerful enough to style himself as a great king the supreme king

of kings and the son of the gods could have stood of inaugurating a new era adopted that of a king of a Scythian dynasty which his predecessor Kujula Kadphises of the Yuchi nation had overthrown.¹ That the Kushan dynasty was capable of founding a new era cannot be doubted, for in the very year 136 of the so-called era of Azes that is 78 A D Kanishka—Mr Vincent Smith says Vima Kadphises—founded the Saka era.

(4) This hypothesis ignores the persistent tradition that the era was inaugurated by Vikramaditya, the King of the Malavas to commemorate his decisive defeat of the Śakas.

(5) It is inconsistent with the story of the Jain Teacher Kalaka, which “tells us about some events which are supposed to have taken place in Ujjain and other parts of western India during the first part of the first Century B C or immediately before the foundation of the Vikrama era in 58 B C”² Kalaka, a Jaina saint, having been insulted by king Gardhabhilla of Ujjain, father of Vikramaditya, invoked the aid of the King of the Śakas, who was styled King of kings (a title borne by the Śaka Kings of the Punjab—Manes and his successors including Azes I), to overthrow the Gardhabhilla dynasty, but Vikramaditya inflicted on him a crushing defeat. This is supported by the following quotation from the same history—“The historical

1 C H I pp 167-68

2 Ibid pp 532-33.

setting (of this story) is not inconsistent with what we know of the political circumstances of Ujjayini at this period. A persecuted party in the state may well have invoked the aid of the warlike Śakas of Sakadvīpa or Sevthia (part of the Punjab) in order to crush a cruel despot, and as history has so often shown, such allies are not unlikely to have seized the Kingdom for themselves. Both the tyrant Gardiakhilla, whose misdeeds were responsible for the introduction of these avengers and his son Vikramaditya who afterwards drove the Śakas out of the realm, according to the story, may perhaps be historical characters, and from the account which represents Vikramaditya as having come to Ujjayini from Pratiśthana we may infer that they were connected with the Andhras."

(6) Do the coins or inscriptions of Azes I or his successors Azesises and Azes II bear the era of Azes I? The Fiktabihī inscription of Gondophernes the successor of Azes II mentions an era, but does not refer like Sir John Marshall's Taxila inscription to Azes. The year 103 on it may refer to the Saka era and may be equivalent to 181 A. D., as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar¹ and Mr R. D. Banerjee² hold.

(7) The document, on which Sir John Marshall and Professor Rapson base the era of Azes I appears to be an inscription and not a coin. May it not be

¹ P. H. I.—p. 37

² E. H. I.—p. 243 n

a similar inscription connected with a grant like the notorious Gavi copperplate inscription of Samudragupta ?

(8) The era of Azes cannot explain the Vikrama Samvat which is associated with Milavaganasthiti or the firm establishment of Malava community in Central India

Even admitting that 'Ayasa' refers to Azes I, and great King, supreme King of Kings, son of the gods, Khushana,' refers to Vima Kadphises the Predecessor of Kanishka, there is nothing to preclude the supposition that the Malava or Vikrama era¹ and also the era of Azes I were inaugurated in the same year. The Scythio-Parthian monarchy reached the highest point of prosperity under Azes I who commemorated his greatness by means of an era. But at that time also his army or another section of the Sákas who had established themselves at Mathura, was decisively defeated by king Vikramaditya of Ujjayini at the head of Malavagan² or clan, in commemoration of which brilliant achievement was initiated the Malava or Vikrama Era. Later on, the two eras which began in the same year, coalesced into one. This is also borne out by the fact that there is a difference of seven months between the northern Vikrama Era and the southern or true Vikrama era.

1 P H I p 37

2 G H I p 248 n

Mr H K Dutt in his learned essay 'Vikramaditya and his Era' has pointed out that the great Vikramaditya of the first century B C was none other than Gautamiputra S'atakarni of the Andhra Dynasty, who is mentioned as the founder of an era in the Matsyapurana and who was styled Varuna Vikrama (powerful like an elephant) and whose inscriptions bear, for example, the years Suvachare (Samvatsare) 15 and Suvachare 24—which some have contended signifies regnal years and who had vassal kings and whose dominions extended from the Godavari to Rajputana. But if as Mr Vincent Smith says, his son and successor Pulumayi had married the daughter of Rudradaman I, whose Guntur inscription bears the date 72 of the Saka era, corresponding to 150 A D, Gautamiputra could not have flourished in the middle of the first century B C. The Guntur inscription however simply says that Rudradaman was closely connected with S'atakarni. But if the Nasik inscriptions of Gautamiputra S'atakarni relate to the plots of land, which belonged to Ushabhadatta (son-in-law of Nahapana of the Kshatrapa Dynasty), who flourished about 41 of the Saka Era or 119 A D, then also there is difficulty in identifying Gautamiputra Satakarni with the Vikramaditya of 57 B C.¹

It is possible that the Vikramaditya (Son of Gardhavilla) the generalissimo of the Malavas

who defeated the Sakas led to the firm establishment (स्थिति) of the Ujjains as a formidable time, after their continuance as an independent nation had been threatened by the Sakas magnanimously allowed the Eia to be named after his people (जाना) though every one knew that it was really associated with his great victory. This tradition in later times received the name of 'Vikramaditya' or 'Vikrama' in connection with the era after his glorious had been enhanced by the memories of other Vikramadityas like Gautamiputra S'atkarṇi (of Parthian and Ujjayini), and Chandragupta II (who frequently resided at Ujjayini) and even by those of Harshavardhana (606—47) of Kanauj, king, author and patron of authors, and by those of King Bhoja (1018—69) of the Paramara family who had his capital at Dharmara Ujjayini, and who was both a scholar and a patron of learned men, as had been the case with Alexander the Great, Arthur and Charlemagne in Europe.

The King Vikramaditya of Ujjayini was not only a great king and general but he was like Harshavardhana of Kanauj and Charles the Great, King of the Franks and Head of the Holy Roman Empire, a patron of letters, though the verse which enumerates the nine gems of his court is beyond doubt a spurious piece of composition.

धन्वन्तरि क्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्क —

वेतालभट्टकपर्पकालिदासा ।

खण्डोवराहमिहिरो नृपतेस्सभाया

रत्नानिवररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ।

(In the court of King Vikramaditya there were nine gems viz Dhananandi Kshaparakā Amarasimha Śaṅkha Vetalaṅkha Gaṇapati Kālidāsa Varhamihira and Vararuchi). All traces of the works of Dharmaditya, Kshaparakā and Vetalaṅkha have been lost.

Amarasimha was the compiler of a Kosh or Sanskrit Dictionary called Amarakosh. There is a tradition that he was a Jain that he erected a temple at Buddhagaya, and that many of his works were destroyed by the great Reform and Philosopher Sankaracharya who flourished about 800 A D. Dr Macdonell says¹, The Amarakosh occupies the same dominant position in lexicography as Pāṇini in grammar not improbably composed about 500 A D.

Sanku was probably the same as Śaṅkha referred to by Dr Keith, on whose earlier work on Poetics was based the Vyākṛtivyākṛta of Mahimur Bhatta who flourished about 1050 A D and who stated that "intelligence was sufficient explanation of the enjoyment of poetry" .

The date of Ghṛīṭikarpūra is not known. A lyric poem of a very artificial character, consisting only of twenty-two stanzas and marked by the use of yamakas called after the author's name 'Ghatakarpura' or potsherd which is worked into the last verse, is ascribed to him .

1 S L 433

2 C S L p 139

3 Ibid p 114 & S L p 339

Vararuchi is credited to a Kāvya Patanjali author of the Man bh shya or 'the great commentary on Pāṇini (the famous grammarian who flourished about 300 B C) and of Yoga Sūtras which form the basis of the Yoga Philosophy Patanjali lived about 150 B C Vararuchi is said also to have been the author of a treatise on Poetics So he must have flourished earlier than 150 B C ¹

Varahamihira the famous astrologer and astronomer, was born about 505 A D and died in 587 A D He was the author of three works on Astrology viz, Brihat Samhita Brihatjataka or Hora sastra and Laghujataka He was also the author of Panchasiddhantika, a practical astronomical treatise which he composed, as he himself says, in 427 of the Saka Samvat corresponding to 505 A D ²

So it is evident that all these authors could not have been contemporaries and been associated with the Vikramaditya of 585-7 B C This couplet, Dr McDonell writes, though often quoted, is an ill authenticated verse occurring in a work of the sixteenth century'. Under the circumstances we do not obtain any help from it regarding the date of Kalidasa who is also mentioned as one of the main intellectual gems of Vikramaditya's court

That Kalidasa was later than Asvaghosh is almost certain Asvaghosh, Dr Keith says, is in all likelihood

1 McDonell & Keith

2 McDonell and V Rau

3 C S L. P. 2,

'to be reckoned as a contemporary of Kanishka and assigned with him either to the end of the first or the middle of the second century A.D.' He also says that Asvaghosha influenced Kalidasa's style¹, and refers to the fact that Kalidasa must have been indebted to Asvaghosha for some passages of *Raghuvansh* : 'To deny or minimise the influence of Asvaghosha on Kalidasa is idle, the exit of the young Prince from the city bringing the women to the windows and tops of the houses to gaze on his beauty a passage (in his *Buddha Charita*) which evokes the memory of Kalidasa's description of Ajat's entry in the *Raghuvansh*'²

In Kalidasa's drama *Malavikāgnimitram* the following occurs —

सूत्रधार—अभिहितोऽस्मि विद्वत्परिषदा कालिदासप्रतिवस्तु माल
विकाग्निमित्रं नाम नाटकमस्मिन् वसन्तोत्सवे प्रयोक्तव्यमिति ।

पारिषाधिक—मातावत् । प्रथितयशसा भाससौमिल्लकविपुलादीनां
प्रबन्धान्तिस्रम्य वत्तमानकवे कालिदासस्य क्रियाया कथं बहुमानः ।

(Manager - I have been asked by the Learned Assembly to enact Kalidasa's drama, *Malavikāgnimitram*, at this spring festival

Actor Not so, I pray Why should the audience pass over the compositions of famous poets Bhasa, Saumilla, Kaviputra and others and do great honour to the work of Kalidasa, a modern poet ?)

From the above it appears that Kalidasa was the author of *Malavikāgnimitram* and that he was later than Bhasa, Saumilla and Kaviputra *Malavikāgn*

1 S D p 161

2 C S L p 23

mitra is a historical drama. The Sisununga dynasty (342-322 B.C.) was followed by the Maurya dynasty (322-185 B.C.) established by Chandragupta. This was succeeded by the Sunga dynasty (185-73 B.C.), the first king of which was Pushyamitra Sunga (185-149 B.C.) who ascended the Magadha throne after killing his master Brihadratha Maurya in 185 B.C., of whose army he was the Śūnpati (commander-in-chief, by which title he is referred to in *Mālavikāgnimitram*).

Yajnasena and Mithrasena claimed the throne of Vidarbha. The former became victorious in the conflict. The latter being desirous of allying himself with the powerful Prince Agnimitra (her apparent of Pushyamitra), and also his Viceroy at Vidisha (Bhilsa), by marrying his sister Malavika to him and thus securing his support set out with her and with an escort for Vidisha. But they were imprisoned by the frontier officer of Yajnasena Mithrasena's minister Sumati, and his widowed sister Kausiki escaped from the prison with Malavika. They were waylaid by robbers, and in the fight Sumati was killed. Malavika escaped to the Court of Agnimitra, where she was engaged by the chief queen, Dhairini, as her personal attendant. Later on Kausiki, who had assumed the role of a nun or Parivrajika joined them, but her disguise prevented her from being recognised by Malavika. The helplessness, beauty and modesty of Malavika, who was a mere girl, won the heart of the chief queen, who entrusted her to Ganadasa, the dancing and singing master, for training. Her portrait made the

King fell in love with he Gautama, the court jester and the King's companion to gratify his master's desire to see Milavika provoked a quarrel between Garadisa and his rival Haridatta Garadisa established his superiority as a teacher by exhibiting Milavika (though against the wills of the chief queen, who had suspected the design) as a dancer and singer before the Court. Milavika's beautiful dance and suggestive and pathetic song charmed the audience, and the King and Milavika fell deeply in love with each other.

Milavika, being accompanied by her attendant Vakulavika came at the direction of Dhurini to the garden to touch with her left foot the Asoka tree to make it blossom, and opened out her heart to her attendant, who being in the confidence of the King, readily consented to help her. The King overhearing Milavika's conversation with her attendant and understanding that his love was reciprocated, came forth from his hiding place and was about to embrace her when the second queen Irvati flushed with drink and stung with jealousy suddenly came out of her place of concealment and in a tone of bitter satire insulted the King and repudiated his advances, and induced the chief queen to confine Milavika with her attendant in an underground cell. The court jester Gautama, skilfully brought about their release by feigning that he had been bitten by a snake, and by procuring the snake-crested ring of great efficacy in snake poison, from the kind-hearted Dhurini, which he produced before the jailor. Gautama and Vakulavika contrived another meeting between the King and

Mlavika in an arbour, when they were again surprised by Ivala but they were extricated from the delicate situation by Dharmas daughter Vasulakshmi being attacked by a monkey in the garden. The tide now turned in Mlavika's favour. The Asoka blossomed and as the chief queen had promised to fulfil Mlavika's wish, when the flowers of the Asoka would come out, she magnanimously made arrangements for Mlavika's marrying with the King. Two favourable items of news brought about the peaceful union of Mlavika with her royal lover. One was the report of the victory won by Agnimitra's army over the King of Vidarbha or Berar, and among those who came with this good news were two girls, who recognised Mlavika as the Vidarbha princess, and later on Kusika as well. The other was the communication by Pushyamitra of the victory won by Vasumitra, (his grandson and the son of Agnimitra and Dharmas) over the cavalry of the Yavanas, who had captured Pushyamitra Asvamedha horse. The first news removed all objections to Agnimitra's marrying below his rank, and the second disarmed completely the jealousy of Dharmas, if she had any at that time, and she in the moment of her elation united Mlavika with her husband.

The first news refers to the historical fact the war between Vidisa and Vidarbha in which Yagnasena was worsted by the King Agnimitra of Vidarbha, as a result of which Vidarbha was divided into two provinces separated by the river Varada (Wardha) which is now the boundary between Berar and the

Central Provinces¹ Agnimitra appointed Mādhava-sena to the southern, and Yagnasena to the northern principality

The second event was more important than the first. It ended "the second and last attempt by a European general to conquer India by land. From the repulse of Menander (the Yavana or Greek King), in or about 153 B.C. until the bombardment of Calicut by Vasco da Gama in A.D. 1502, India enjoyed immunity from attack under European leadership"² Menander, the Greek king of Kabul and the Punjab, wanted to emulate the exploits of Alexander, and at the head of a formidable force annexed the Indus delta, the peninsula of Surāshtra (Kāthiāwar), Mathurā and besieged Madhyamikā (Nāgarī near Chitore) and Sīketam in southern Oudh, and threatened even Pataliputra, the capital. This invasion (155-153 B.C.) was repelled by Pushyamitra after a severe struggle, and Menander was obliged to retire to his own country³. The decisive battle was fought on the Sindhu, either Kali-Sindhu, a tributary of the Charmanvatī (Chambal) flowing within a hundred miles of Madhyamikā near Chitor, or the Sindhu, a tributary of the Yamunā, which would naturally be passed by invading forces on the route between Mathurā and Prayāg⁴. From the above, it will appear that Kālidāsa, the author of *Mālvikāgnimitram*, must have flourished later than 150 B.C.

1 See also C. H. I., p. 519 2 E. H. I., p. 210

3 Ibid. 4 C. H. I. p. 520

In the same passage (quoted on p 29) in *Vikramorviśhaya* it is mentioned that Kalidasa was later than the dramatists Bhāsa, Saundilya and Kāvyaputra. Dr Keith says that the probability that Kalidasa was influenced by Bhāsa his predecessor is turned into certainty by the numerous coincidences between the works of the two writers.¹ In Act I of *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* Dushmanta admires the propriety of the bark dress of his beloved maiden of the hermitage. In Bhāsa's *Pratimāntaka* Sita is described as wearing her dress of bark which evokes the admiration of her female companion. So Sakuntala's watering the garden as an act of penance and her bidding farewell to flowers and trees which are her foster-children, have their parallels in Bhāsa's *Pratimāntaka*. Dushmanta's assuring Anasuya that her speech of welcome is sufficient hospitality, is similar to Visavadatta's appreciation of the courteous words of the lady of the hermitage in Bhāsa's *Śvapnavasavadattā*. Again Dushmanta's command to his general to avoid disturbance in the hermitage resembles the advice given by the chamberlain to the servant in this play of Bhāsa. The loss of the lute by Udayana, Bhāsa's hero, and the loss of the ring by Śākuntala are parallel incidents. As Dushmanta consoles himself with the portrait of Sakuntala, whom he thinks he has lost for ever so Udayana does with the portrait of Visavadatta, sent by his parents-in-law (Act vi),

The curse pronounced on Śākuntal by Duṣas, to which her sufferings are due, resembles that pronounced on Avimāka, the hero of Bhāsa's drama of the same name, by Chandabhīrgava, which reduces him to a humble rank. As in *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* the lovers are united at the hermitage of the sage Mārīchā, so in *Avimāka* they become united at the home of Nārada. But it may be said that it is Bhāsa who has imitated Kīlidasa, and that the latter is not indebted to the former. If it were so, Bhāsa's passages would not be 'feeble and tasteless' and Kīlidasa's 'apt and brilliant' ¹. Dr. Keith says, 'If we place Bhāsa about A.D. 300 we go as far as the evidence allows' ² (See also Chap. v).

Rājśekhara, the dramatist and critic of Mahāśāstra, who flourished about 900 A.D. according to Doctois Macdonell and Keith mentions Saumilla along with Bhāsa and Rāmila, and ascribes to Saumilla and Rāmila *S'udraka-kathā* or the Romance of S'udāśa, who is also introduced by Bṛnabhatta in his *Kīdāmbari*.

'Kaviputra' mentioned in the verse quoted above should according to Dr. Keith be dual, that is, 'Kaviputrau'. These two Kaviputras are referred to in *Subhashit-bali* or an anthology of verses compiled by Vallabhadeva in the fifteenth century. Probably they worked together like Saumilla or Somila and Rāmila, and Beaumont and Fletcher.

1. S. D. p. 124

2. Ibid. p. 95

That the dramas of Bhīṣa, Saumilla and Kaṣiputras were earlier than those of Kālidāsa, is evident from the verse quoted. The works of Saumilla and Kaṣiputras are not extant, and their exact dates cannot be determined.

That Kālidāsa flourished earlier than Bana-bhatta, the author of Harshacharita or the biography of the great King Harshavardhana (606-647 A D) of Kanauj is evident from the following verse which occurs in his Harshacharita—

निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिम् ।

प्रोक्तिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥

(Is there any one who does not appreciate the good, sweet and charming utterances of Kālidāsa which are like fresh blossoms?) According to Dr Keith Harshacharita was composed about 650 A D ¹

Another item of evidence which establishes Bana-bhatta's being posterior to Kālidāsa is adduced by Ratnāvalī. Both Mr Wilson and Sir M. Monier-Williams are of opinion that the author of the Ratnāvalī is indebted to Kālidāsa. "The author is under considerable obligation to his predecessors and specially to Kālidāsa, from the Vikramorvas'ī of which writer, several situations and some of the dialogues even are borrowed" ² Again "The plot of the Ratnāvalī resembles in its love-intrigues that of the Vikramorvas'ī, Mālavikāgni-mitrā &c, and in like manner presents us with

1 C S L p 81

2 Theatre of the Hindus by H H Wilson

a valuable picture of Hindu manners in medieval times'.¹ According to Dr. Macdonell Ratnawali was probably composed in the first half of the seventh century, at least before Harsha's death which occurred in 647, by a resident at his court to whom it has been ascribed by tradition.

The occurrence of Greek astronomical terms like *junitra* (*diametron*) the lion in the zodiac and *uchcha* (L. *auv*-apex of a planet's orbit) in *Kaṇvāsambhava*, *Vikramo vāsī* and *Raghuvamsā* has led some scholars to place Kīlidāsa after Aryabhaṭa,² who was born as he himself tells us, at Pataliputra in 476 A.D. These terms do not occur in *Smṛtya Siddhānta*, the first Hindu astronomical work, composed about 300 A.D. But it has been shown by Dr. Thibaut that an Indian astronomical treatise, undoubtedly written under Greek influence, the *Romaka Siddhānta* or 'the Roman Manual' is older than Aryabhaṭīya (Aryabhaṭa's work and cannot be placed later than 400 A.D. "It may be added that a passage of Kīlidāsa *Raghuvamsām*—छायाहि भूमे. शशिनो मलत्वेनारोपिता शुद्धिमत् प्रजाभि—(xiv-40) has been erroneously adduced in support of the astronomical argument (that Kīlidāsa was later than Aryabhaṭa) as implying that eclipses of the moon are due to the shadow of the earth it really refers only to the spots in

1 Indian Wisdom by Sir M. Monier-Williams
S.D.p. 146

in the moon are caused in accordance with the doctrine in the Purāṇas by a reflection of the earth.

In the Aihole Inscription in the Bijapur District a description of Prince Ravikirti composed in connexion with the erection of the stone temple of Jinendra during the reign of Pulikeśi II in 556 Saka (634-35 A.D.) occurs the following “विजयताम् रविकीर्तिं कविताश्रित कालिदासभारविकीर्तिं” (Victorious be Ravikirti who has attained the fame of Kalidasa and Bharavi) -

From what has been said above, it is clear that Kalidasa flourished later than 400 A.D. and earlier than 634 A.D.

To say as Mr S. Ray has done that Kalidasa lived after the publication of the grammar of Pāṇini (400 B.C.) and before that of Patañjali (2nd century B.C.) on the ground that some of the expressions used by Kalidasa are not sanctioned by Patañjali, though they are allowed by Pāṇini is opposed to the history of the development of Sanskrit. Patañjali wrote his Bhaṣya for a language, which was fast vanishing and going out of use. It is a well known fact that when he wrote, literary vernaculars (which were influencing Sanskrit) had grown up in different provinces and that he was legislating for the speech of the *Sishta* only. The word *Sishta* means a well-to-do Brahman inhabitant of Āryāvarta, who was an expert in at least one of the sciences of

the Hindus. Other schools of grammar were constantly rising up for the purpose of validating Vernacularised expressions in Sanskrit or better perhaps Sanskritised Vernacular expressions”¹

That Kalidasa composed his Indian poems *Ritusamhara* and *Meghaduta* before 473—74 A.D. (5th Vikrama or Malava Samvat) is evident from an inscription (Prasasti or *pragathi* on the temple of the Sun) composed in accordance with the order of the Guild (*श्रेणीआदेशेन*) of Silk weavers of Dasapura or Mandasor in the reign of the Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta II 469—476 A.D. by Vatsabhatta to commemorate the erection in 437—38 A.D. and the repair in 473—74 A.D. of the temple by the Guild of Silk weavers who had emigrated from Latavishavati of Central and Southern Gujarat into the city of Dasapura which was then being governed by King Bandhuvaiman.²

This inscription consists “of a poem of no fewer than forty-four stanzas composed in the Kāvya style by ‘Vatsabhatta a man of inferior poetic talent, who knew and utilised the poems of Kalidasa’” as the following quotations will show and who himself alleged that he had produced his work with effort (*इयं प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभट्टिना*).

While giving a glowing description of Dasapura the new home of the Guild of Silk weavers which

1 J B O R S Vol II Pt I

2 C I 18

3 S L pp 320—21

became the fore-and-aft-decoration of the earth (and) which was adorned with a thousand mountains and with trees weighed down with flowers, and with lakes beautified by ducks and water-lilies Vatsabhatta describes the houses of the city thus :—

चलन्पताकान्यबलासनायाचनार्थशुक्लाद्याधिकोन्नतानि ।

लङ्घिताचितासिताभ्रकूटतुल्योपमानानि गृहानि यत्न ॥

कैलासतुङ्गागिरिप्रतिमानि चानयानयामान्ति दीर्घवल्लभिनी

सवेदिकानि ।

गान्धर्वशब्दमुखरानि निविष्टचितकम्पाणि लोलकदलीवन-

शोभितानि ॥

Here the houses have waving flags (and) are full of tender women, (and) are very white, (and) extremely lofty, resembling the peaks of white clouds lit up with forked lightning And other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful, being like the lofty summits of (the mountain) Kailasa, and being vocal with songs (like those) of the Gandharvas, having pictured representations arranged (in them), (and) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees " 1

Compare with this the sixty-sixth stanza (the first stanza of the second cloud—उत्तरमेघ) of Kālidāsa's Meghaduta where the Yaksha, who has been feeling keenly his long separation from his wife as a punishment inflicted on him by his

master for neglect of duty, and who has entrusted a Cloud to carry a message to her, describes to him (the Cloud) the city of Alaka, where his beloved is living—

विष्णुद्वन्त ललितवनिता सेन्द्रचाप सचिन्ता ,
सगीताय प्रहृतमुरजा सिन्धुपर्जनघोषम् ।
अन्तस्तोय मणिमयमुवस्तुङ्गमग्न लिहाया ,
प्रासादास्त्वा तुल्यितुमल यत्न तैस्तैर्विशेषै ॥

उडिउ-তুলনা ললা যথার
ইজ্জ ধনু চিত্রগণেতে বাজে ,
শঙ্খীর গবজি, মেঘ-মদ্র প্রায়,
যেখানে মধুব যুবজ বাজে ,
যদি নিবসিত, ললে মেঘ বধা ,
অভ্রে বিনি যাব শিখর বন ,
প্রতি শুণে ধবে তোমাবই প্রথা

বে পুৰীৰ কেন প্রাসাদ চক্ৰ— B C M

There every palace with thy glory vies,
Whose soaring summits kiss the lofty skies,
Whose beauteous inmates bright as lightning glare,
And tabors mock the thunders of the air,
The rainbow flickering gleams along the walls
And glittering rain, in sparkling diamonds falls -W
(सचिन्ता adorned with pictures has been omitted in the translation)

Compare also Vatsabhatti's—

“यत्न सरासि

विकोलवीचीचलितारविन्दपतद्गज पिञ्जरितैश्च हसै ”

where, i.e., in Dasapura, the lakes are beautiful with the swans that are encaged in the pollen that falls from the water lilies shaken by the tremulous waves' ¹

with the following from Meghaduta—

हसश्रेणीरचितरशना नित्यपद्मा नलिनः ²

where, i.e., in Alakā (the lakes are full of) lotus plants, which always bear flowers, and which are surrounded, as it were with a girdle, with rows of swans

Also Vatsabhatti's—

स्वपुष्पभारावनतैर्नगेन्द्रैर्मदप्रगल्भालिङ्गस्वनैश्च

(Here, i.e., in Dasapura the woods are adorned with lordly trees that are bowed down by the weight of their flowers and are full of the sounds of the flights of bees that hum loudly though intoxication (caused by the juices of the flowers that they suck) ³ with Kālidāsa

यत्नोन्मत्तभ्रमरमुखरा पादपा नित्यपुष्पा —

(Where, i.e., in Alakā, the trees always bear flowers and resound with the music of intoxicated bees)⁴

We may compare also the description of the winter at Dasapura, where the Solar Temple was erected in 493 (Mālava Era)—

चन्द्राशुद्धम्यतलचन्दनतालवृन्तहारोपभोगरहिते हिमदग्धपद्मे—

(which season on account of cold) is destitute of

1 C I no 18

2 M D 70

3 C I 18

4 M D 70

the enjoyment of the beams of the moon and (sitting in the open air on) the flat roofs of houses and sandal-wood perfumes and pair fans and necklaces, ¹

with Kalidasa's description of the same season (शिशिर or winter, literally the dewy season) in his Ritusamhara or the Cycle of Seasons —

न चन्दन चन्द्रमरीचिशीतल न हृम्यष्ट शरदिन्दुनिम्मलम् ।

न वायव सान्द्रतुषारशीतला, जनस्य चित्त रमयन्ति साम्प्रत ॥-

(Now fragrant sandal cooled by Chandra's ray
Nor roofs of houses lighted by the moon
Nor breezes cold, with long-continued frost
Afford delight, or animate the mind—S J

Also Kalidasa's स्वप्नन्ति शीत परिभूय कामिनः 'the lovers overcoming the bitter cold of winter enjoy a sound sleep,

with the similar idea in Vatsabhatti's description of winter in which the falling of frost and snow is derided by lovers

M M H P S suri after saying that the inscription of 404 A D describes the rainy season that of 423 autumn, that of 437 winter and those of 473 and 533 spring states that the resemblances between Vatsabhatti and Kalidasa simply prove the existence of a poetic custom in the period (404-533 A D) to describe seasons in a particular manner and do not establish the indebtedness of one poet to the other But the points of agreement

1 CI 18

2 S is 112a 3

3 JBORS

are so many, that the theory of indebtedness cannot be thus explained away

That Kalidasa will borrow some of the passages of his Meghaduta and Ritusambhara from Vatsabhatti, will appear improbable to every one who has taken care to compare these two poems with Vatsabhatti's poem in the Mandasor inscription¹ Vatsabhatti himself says that he has composed it with much pains (पूर्वाचेयम्—the afore said panegyric on the Temple of the Sun—प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभट्टिना) Though he "makes every attempt to show his knowledge of the rules of the Kavya uses no less than twelve metres' and describes, the two seasons of winter and spring, his inferiority to Kalidasa is beyond question, specially on account of his adoption of the stilted Gauda or eastern style as shown by the "use of long compounds in verse even to the extent of filling a whole stanza, more often to filling a line"² Kalidasa follows the earlier simpler, and more refined Vaidarbha or southern style in his poetry. The decline of Kavya style began with the death of Kalidasa (see Chap VI)

In the circumstances we shall not be very wrong if we place Kalidasa between the approximate limits 400 and 473 A D It is needless to say that there is no connexion between him and Vikramaditya of 58 B C

There is still at Ujjain the tradition that Kalidasa was the poet of the court of Vikram

ditva, and that Vikramaditya succeeded his elder brother Bhartrinari, who being disgusted with the faithlessness of his wife resigned his kingship, and began to practise austerities in a dark labyrinthine underground cell in which is to be found his image in the attitude of meditation. This cell is situated on the Sipra amidst the ruins of an old town. There are still to be found at Ujjaini the Chabbiskhambar or the twenty-four pillared gate of Vikramaditya, the Kalikadevi of Vikramaditya and Kalidasa Pandit, as the Panda or priest styled the great poet, the Mahakala or Siva, mentioned by the poet in his Meghaduta and still visited by numerous pilgrims, and the hermitage of Sandipani the preceptor of Krishna and Balarama. Of course there were several Vikramadityas associated with this ancient city, the first having flourished about 56 B.C. The present Ujjaini is a big town containing more than fifty thousand inhabitants and standing on the Sipra, and belonging to the Maharaja of Gwalior and enjoying among other amenities electric light and filtered water. Among other places of interest the Observatory of Sawaji Jaysing with its mathematical instruments made of the finest marble and situated on a secluded and beautiful bend of the Sipra is worth visiting. The climate is mild even in midsummer. The shortest route from Calcutta is *via* Chheoki (near Allahabad) Katni Bina and Bhupal.

Though Vikramaditya and Kalidasa are now

mere names in this old and famous city, though its 'glory and glow" have passed away, yet the visitor, who is not wholly engrossed "by the present's spell", cannot but exclaim here, on seeing an ancient relic, with Longfellow,—

This is the place Stand still my steed.
 Let me review the scene,
 And summon from the shadowy past,
 The forms that once have been

Chapter II

Kalidasa and Vasodharman

Great is advertisement with little men'—Sir Owen Seaman

Let us now examine the hypothesis that Kalidasa was a contemporary of Vasodharman, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Huns led by their emperor Mihmagula. This was achieved about 528 A.D.¹

Kalidasa in describing the Digvijaya (world-conquest) of Raghu says—

तस्य हृण्मवरोधाना भक्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।

कपोलपाटलादस्त्रि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥

(Raghu showed so much prowess to the Huns on the Sindhu that their wives rendered their cheeks red by striking them with their hands on account of the death of their husbands)

In the latter part of the fourth Century A.D. a fresh batch of nomads moved westwards from the steppes of Asia to seek subsistence, and became divided into two main streams—one directed its devastating course towards Europe and the other towards the valley of the Oxus. 'By the middle of the fifth century the latter'—the Hephthalites,

1 E H I p 337

2 R V IV 68

3 E H I p 339

Ephthalites or White Huns—founded a powerful empire in the Oxus basin, whence they carried their conquest down to Gandhara and beyond the Indus in the South, and as far as Khotan and Karashahr in the East ' 1

These barbarians (specially the western section) are thus described by Dr Smith— The Huns were an Asiatic race who dwelt for some centuries in the plain of Tartary and were formidable to the Chinese Empire, long before they were known to the Romans. It was to repel the inroads of the Huns that the Chinese built their celebrated wall, fifteen hundred miles in length. A portion of the nation afterwards migrated westwards, conquered the Alani, a warlike race between the Volga and Tanais and then crossed into Europe about 375 A D. The appearance of these barbarians excited the greatest terror both among the Romans and the Germans. They are described by the Greek and Roman historians as hideous and repulsive beings resembling apes, with broad shoulders, flat noses and small black eyes deeply buried in their head, while their manners and habits were savage to the last degree" 2

The Chinese traveller Sung Yun, who was sent in 518 A D, by the Chinese Empress of the Northern Wei Dynasty to seek for sacred Buddhist books, crossed the Tsungling mountains, and came to the land of the Yetha(Ephthalites), who had

1 Sir A. Stein—Ancient Khotan Chap III, Section II, p 58

2 Smith's Classical Dictionary

by this time acquired settled habits and whom he thus describes—'They have no walled towns, but they keep order by means of a standing army that constantly moves here and there. These people use felt garments. They have no written character. They receive tribute from all surrounding nations, on the south as far as Tiekho, on the north the entire country of Laeleh, eastward to Khotan, and west to Persia—more than forty countries in all. The king puts on his robes of state and takes his seat upon a gilt couch, which is, supported by four golden Phoenix birds. The royal ladies of the Yetha country also wear state robes, which trail on the ground three feet and more, they have special train-bearers for carrying those lengthy robes. They also wear on their heads a horn in length eight feet and more, three feet of its length being red coral. Both the rich and poor have their distinctive modes of dress. These people are of all the four tribes of barbarians the most powerful. The majority of them do not believe in Buddha. Most of them worship false gods. They kill living creatures and eat their flesh. (In 520 A.D.) we entered the kingdom of Gandhara, this is the country (of the Kushans) which the Yethas destroyed and they afterwards set up Laeleh (a misreading of the Turkish title *taġin*¹) to be king over the country since which event

two generations have passed. The disposition of this king was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha but loved to worship demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Brahman caste, they had a great respect for the law of Buddha, and loved to read the sacred books, when suddenly the king came into power, who was strongly opposed to anything of the sort" ² The Laeleh, whom Sungyun saw installed in Gandhara in 520 A.D., was Mihiragula or Mihirakula, the son of Toramana, the Attila of India, as Mr Vincent Smith calls him. The Gandhara section of the White Huns, it appears from Sungyun's account, had established themselves in this part of India in about 484 A.D. after overthrowing the kingdoms of Persia and Kabul.

Skandagupta, the Gupta emperor (455-467 or 469) just after his accession repelled an attack of a swarm of the Huns, who had separated themselves from the main body on the Oxus basin.

The Gupta empire after the conquests of Samudragupta (330-380 A.D.) and Chandragupta II (380-415) extended from the Brahmaputra on the east (excepting Samatata or the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra) to the Arabian sea on the west, and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmada on the south. Sindh, Surashtra (Kathiawar) and Cutch were inclu-

ded in the Gupta dominions. The northwestern boundary was constituted by the Chenab up to its junction with the Sutlej. Between the Chenab on the northwest and the Chambal on the south west there were several republican or oligarchical tribes e.g., the Yaudheyas, the Madrakas and the Arjunayanas under the protection of the Gupta emperor. The portion of western India, west of the Chambal, north of Barada, and south of Bikanir, was not under the Guptas. "Beyond these wide limits the frontier kingdoms of Assam (Kamarupa) and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and the free tribes of Rajputana (already mentioned) and Malwa were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance"¹. The whole of the south of India except Cnra and Pandya in the extreme south was overrun by Samudragupta and had to acknowledge his supremacy at least for the time being. Even the king of Ceylon sent two monks with gems as presents and requested his permission to found a monastery at Buddha Gaya.

The Huns, after their settlement at Gandhara (District of Peshawar) in about 480 A.D., conquered the country between Gandhara and the Chenab the northwestern limit of the Gupta empire). Then they marched southwards and must have experienced considerable difficulty in

overcoming the protected warlike tribes of Rajputana. But the latter could not stem the devastating onrush of the barbaric horde, and shared the same fate as that of the Ostrogoths and Romans in Europe.

There is reason to believe that the Huns did not find the conquest of the Gupta dominions between the Ganges and the Narmada so easy. They could only drive a wedge into this portion between Mandasor and Ujjain in the west and Banda, Nagod and Jabbalpur on the east. After the death of Skandagupta, this tract became virtually independent under local chiefs. Some of them like Yasodharman completely severed their connexion with the Gupta Emperor and others nominally acknowledged his suzerainty, as the inscriptions indubitably prove.

In the Indore (Indrapur in Central India) copper plate inscription dated 465—66 A D, Skandagupta is described as Paramabhattacharya and Maharajadhiraja. Skandagupta was succeeded by Kumaragupta II who ruled from 469 to 476. Even he is thus described in the Stone-slab inscription of the Silk-weavers of Mandasor in Central India, commemorating their repair of a Solar temple in 473—74 A D —

चतुःसमुद्रान्तविलोलमेखलाम् सुमेरुकैलासवृहत्पयोधराम् ।

वनान्तवान्तस्फुटपुष्पहासिनीम् कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीम् प्रशासति ॥

(While Kumaragupta was reigning over the (whole) earth, whose pendulous marriage-string is

the verge of the four oceans, whose large breasts are (the mountains) Sumeru and Kailas (and) whose laughter is the full blown flowers showered from the borders of the woods) ¹

The mention of the Malava year instead of the Gupta year may raise a doubt regarding the solidity of Kumaragupta's empire, but it is possible that the Mandasor people were more familiar with the Vikrama or Malava than with the Gupta Era.

In the Eran (situated in the district of Saugor in Central India) inscription commemorating the erection in 484-85 of the flagstaff column (ध्वजस्तम्भ) of god Janardana or Vishnu by a chief named Matriviṣṇu and his brother Dhanyaviṣṇu during the reign of the feudatory king Surasmi chandīa and the Sumeru Budhagupta, the latter (Budhagupta who reigned from about 476 to 525 A.D.) is described as a भूपति or King. He is not called Paramabhāṭṭaraka Mahārājadhīrāja. This indicates that Surasmichandra was virtually the king to whom Matriviṣṇu was tributary, that Toramana, the king of the Huns, had not as yet conquered this part of Central India and that Budhagupta exercised only nominal sovereignty over it.

In the Eran inscription on the image of god Vishnu in the form of a boar (भगवतो वराहमूर्त्ति) erected by the aforesaid Dhanyaviṣṇu after the

1 Fleet's C. I. p. 86

2 C. I. no. 19

death of his brother Matriviṣṇu, neither the name of the feudatory Surasmichandra nor of the suzerain Gupta emperor is mentioned but instead the name of Toramana, the Hun King, occurs—

“वर्षे प्रथमे पृथिवी पृथकीर्त्तौ पृथुङ्गत्तौ महाराजाधिराजशीतोरमाने
प्रज्ञावति”—

(In the first year while the Maharajadhiraja, the glorious Toramana of great fame (and) of great lustre is governing the earth) ¹

This inscription is not dated, but it is mentioned that it was engraved after the death of Matriviṣṇu in the first year of the reign of Toramana. So it must have been later than 484-85 A D, the date of the other Eran inscription. Therefore Toramana must have conquered this portion of Central India—from Gwalior to Saugor after 484-85 A D. If we take the year to be 490 A D, it is necessary for us to regard it as the first year of Toramana's reign, which, may, however mean his reign in this part of India, which was before this time part of the Gupta Empire.

In the undated Gwalior Sanskrit inscription on the temple of the Sun erected on the Gopa hill of Gwalior by Matrīcheta are mentioned the names of the Hun kings Toramana and his son Mihirakula. “(There was) a ruler (of the earth) of great merit, who was renowned by the name of the glorious Toramana by whom

through (his) heroism that was specially characterised by truthfulness, the earth was governed with justice. Of him the fame of whose family has risen high the son (is) he of unequalled prowess, the lord of the Earth, who is renowned under the name of Mihirakula (and) who (himself) unbroken (broke the power of Pasupati. While (he) the king, the remover of distress, possessed of large and pellucid eyes, is governing the earth, in the augmenting (वर्द्धमानराज्ये) reign (and) in the fifteenth year of him the best of kings (पञ्चदशे वर्षे नृपवृषस्य) ' 1 If we take 490 A D — a hypothetical date—as the first year of Toramana's reign, and 493 A D as the date of Mihirakula's accession to his father's throne, the date of this inscription will be about 508 A D, as it was composed in the fifteenth year of Mihirakula's reign.

In the Eran stone pillar inscription of 510 11 A D commemorating the glorious death in battle of the illustrious king Goparaja, son of King Madhava, and the cremation along with his body of his wife, who became a Sati, occurs the name of Bhanugupta, "the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king equal to Partha (the great warrior of the Mahabharata) exceedingly heroic" 2 Goparaja appears to be a local chief. Bhanugupta the Gupta Emperor came to his assistance and fought a very famous battle. This must have

1 C I no 37 pp 162 63.

2 C I no 20

been a fight with Mihiragula or probably, with his viceroi, and must have ended inspite of Gopī rajas death at the moment of victory, at least in the withdrawal of the Huns from this part of the country, for the name of the Hun King is not mentioned, and the date is given in the Gupta Era.

In the four copper plate land grants (numbered as 21, 22, 23 and 25 of Mr Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions) of 475—76, 482—83, 510—11 and 528—29 A.D. to Brahmans or Gods by Mahārāja Hastin of Dabhila or western Chedi (Jabbalpur) and his son Samkshobha, the expression **गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ** (in the enjoyment of sovereignty of Gupta kings) occurs. This shows that though acknowledging nominally the sovereignty of Gupta kings, and using their era, they did not even care to mention the name of the Gupta emperor of the time, and consequently that they were practically independent. The omission of the name of the Hun king also indicates the fact that the Hun dominion did not extend eastwards to Nagod and Jabbalpur. In the undated Stone pillar inscription, No. 24 of Mahārāja Hastin and Sarvanath, local chiefs in this part (Baghelkhand Division) of Central India, even the expression **गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ** (in the enjoyment &c) does not occur. From these we can reasonably conclude that even before the irruption of the Huns into Central India, the disintegration of the Gupta Empire had begun.

The same conclusions can be drawn from Mr Fleet's Gupta inscriptions numbered as 26, 27, 28 and

31 In these copperplate grants of lands to Brahmins or Gods by Maharaja Jayanatha and his son Sarvanatha of Uchchakalpa (somewhere between Nagod and Jabalpur) of 493-94, 496-97, 512-13, and 533-34 A.D. the Gupta Era is mentioned, but as in No. 24 even the expression **गुप्तनृप** &c (in the enjoyment &c) is omitted. It appears that the chiefs of Uchchakalpa were not inclined to acknowledge even the nominal sovereignty of the Gupta Kings and Maharaja Sarvanatha in the copperplate grant No. 24 dissuaded Maharaja Harish from mentioning (**गुप्त** &c) in the inscription. Even after the signal defeat inflicted by Yasodharman on Mihirakula before 533-34 A.D., Sarvanatha enjoyed independence, as the copperplate grant (No. 31) proves.

It is also a debatable point whether the district of Mandasor was conquered by the Hun king or by Yasodharman whom some scholars identify with the legendary Vikramaditya, says in the Mandasor inscriptions—

स्थात्तु येन प्रगतिक्लृपणनाम् प्रपिता नोत्तमहम्

(He by whom (his) head has never been brought into humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Shiva (Śiva))

Now who was Yasodharman? He was most probably a local chief or an astute and able political adventurer, who availing himself of the weakness of the Gupta Empire in the beginning

of the sixth century, when there was no able ruler like Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, and Skandagupta, made himself the independent King of a small territory with Mandasor or Dasor as his capital. We have seen that Mahārjās Hastin, Samkshova Jayanatha and Sarvanatha, rulers of the Eastern portion of Central India, similarly made themselves virtually independent. So Yasodharman, who knew how to advertise himself, could well say that he had never acknowledged the supremacy of any other person except Śiva, the God whom he worshipped and whom he invoked at the beginning of his inscription, and who enabled him to humiliate his enemies—

“शूलपाणे नययतु भवताम् शत्रुतेजासि केतु ।”

(‘May that banner of (the God) Śulapani (Śiva) destroy the glory of your enemies) ’ ¹

Mihirakula or more properly Mihiragula (the Sun-flower), the Indian Attila, the Scourge specially of the Buddhists, as we shall see later on, became for his atrocities a national menace. Though not hitherto able to advance his standard effectively in Central India he entertained the design of extending his Indian dominions beyond the Yamuna in the east and in the south. The Gupta Emperor Baladitya (Narasimhagupta) who had already lost his territory west of the Jumna and part of Central India, concluded a treaty with Mihirakula and agreed to pay him an annual tribute in lieu of further molestation.

It is true that Baladitya was not the ruler of part of the United Provinces, Magadha and Bengal, but his kingdom was tottering, and the formidable array of the cruel Huns had demoralised his soldiers, and he was not therefore inclined to imperil the territories which he still retained by fighting a pitched battle. This is evident from Hiuen Tsiang's (629 A.D.) statement¹ that Baladityaraja refused to pay tribute to Mihirakula or Mahirakula. After Mihirakula had been captured by Baladitya the former remarked 'The Subject and the Master have changed places'²

But the princes of Central India, which was now i.e., about 525 A.D. threatened by Mihirakula saw that success depended only on presenting a united front to this terrible enemy. Several princes of northern India like Vishnuvardhana of Thaneshwar joined this confederacy of Hindu Princes. Yasodharman, King of Mandasor was the Soul of this patriotic movement. The united army routed the horde of the foreign tyrant in a pitched battle, but the enemy fled with the remnant of his army.

Yas'odharman, who had organised this armed resistance, and who was not noted for his modesty, and who knew that selfadvertisement paid—as it does even now—erected a magnificent monolith column more than thirty nine feet in height with a shaft having sixteen sides on which he ordered the Sculptor Govinda to engrave his

achievement, versed at his suggestion with appropriate rhetorical embellishments by Vasula. The worldly wise Yas'odharman knew that his glorious feats were too valuable to be left to the tender (though 'tender' is not the right word in connexion with stone) mercies of a single stone pillar. So he caused another column to be constructed on which he ordered the engraving of a duplicate inscription describing his famous deeds. But he forgot that "Death comes even to monumental stones, and the names inscribed thereon", that "marble and recording brass decay, and like the engraver's memory pass away". The second memorial pillar was found broken into fragments, and the first which he fondly hoped "would endure to the time of the destruction of the world" was discovered in 1884 by Mr Fleet, lying detached from its base and capital in a field near Mandasor, the chief town of the Mandasor district of Maharaja Scindia's dominions in western Malwa.

That the Hun king was proud, was cruel and uncultured and was destitute of virtue, is stated by Yas'odharman in the inscription "He (Yas'odharman) to whose arm which is steadfast in the successful carrying-out of vows for the benefit of mankind, the earth betook itself (for succour) when it was afflicted by kings (like Mihirakula) of the present age, who manifested pride, who were cruel through want of proper training, who from delusion transgressed the path of good con-

duct (and) who were destitute of virtuous delights " 1

Then Yasodharman describes his prowess and the extent of his empire—

ये भुक्ता गुप्तनायेनं सकलवसुधाक्रान्तिदृष्टप्रतापे—

स्राज्ञा हृणाधिपाना क्षितिपतिमुकुटाध्यासिनीयान्प्रविष्टा ।

देशास्तान्

स्वगृहपरिसरावज्ञाय योभुनक्ति ॥

'He (Yasodharman) spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house enjoys those countries which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas (lordly guptas) whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole earth (and) which the command of the chiefs of the Hunas that established itself on the tiaras of many kings failed to penetrate 2)'

Again—

आलौहित्योपकण्ठात् तलवनगहनोपत्यकादामहेन्द्रा ।

दागङ्गाश्लिष्ट सानोस्तुहिनशिखरिन पश्चिमादापयोधे ।

सामन्तैर्यस्य बाहुद्रविणहृत्सदै पादयोरानमञ्जि

श्चूडारत्नाशुराजिब्यतिकरशबला भूमिभागा क्रियन्ते ॥

नाचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रगतिभुजबलावर्जनक्षिष्टमूर्ध्ना—

चूडापुष्पोपहारैमिहिरकुलनृपेणाश्वित पादयुग्म ॥

(He before whose feet chieftains, having their arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) up to the mountain

Mahendra (sout west of Cuttack), the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of (palmyra?) trees (and) from (Himalaya) the mountain of snow, the tablelands of which are embraced by the (river) Gangi up to the Western Ocean by which all the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (their) heads he to whose feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head by even that (timous) Mihirakula whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance) ¹

From the above it will appear that Vasodharman boasts of his being the lord of the country between the Himalayas on the north, and the tract watered by the Ganges and its tributaries and Mahendragiri in the Ganjam District on the south and between the Brahmaputra on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. He also prides himself on his enjoying those countries which were not ruled even by the Guptas and the Huns. Though he was so great a monarch, yet nothing is known of him except two broken columns, and a stone slab in which he plays a subordinate part.

The probable explanation is this. The Gupta Emperor had become a tributary or feudatory of the

Hun King As Yasodharman at the head of the allied troops defeated Mihirakula, he came theoretically the ruler of both the dominions of the Guptas and of the Huns, and so his dominions were wider than those of either.

But Yasodharman's boast was short-lived. We find a few years afterwards, i.e. in 533-34 A.D. that he had himself become the tributary of King Vishnuvardhana.

An inscription of 533-34 A.D., on a stone tablet was discovered by Mr Fleet in 1885. It was found in an old well in Mandasor. Its object was to record the construction of a large well by Daksha, the younger brother of Dharmadosha, minister of King Vishnuvardhana, in memory of their deceased uncle Abhayadatta. Both the inscriptions (and also the duplicate of the first) in which Yasodharman's name occurs were engraved by the same person Govinda. In it are mentioned not only the name of Yasodharman, but also of Vishnuvardhana—

अथ जयति जने द्वे श्रीयशोधमनामा प्रमदवर्जितान् शत्रुनैः प्रविनाश ।
 वृणक्तिमन्यमङ्गैर्योऽङ्गभूषाम् विधत्ते तरणतत्त्वतावद्विकीर्त्तितवनम्य ॥
 आजौ जितौ विजयते जगतीमुनश्च श्रीविष्णुवद्धननराधिपति स एव ।
 प्रख्यात औलिकरलान्छन आत्मवशोयेनोदितोदितपन्म तमितोदरीय ॥

Mr Fleet translates it thus—

“Now victorious is that tribal ruler, having the name of the glorious Yasodharman, who having plunged into the army of (his) enemies, as if into a grove of thorn-apple trees, (and) having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender creepers of

trees, effects the adornment of (his) body with the fragments of young sprouts, which are the wounds inflicted by him

And again victorious over the earth is the same king of men, glorious Vishnuvardhana, the conqueror in war (आजौ जिती) by whom his own famous lineage, which has the *aulika* crest has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and higher "

Vishnuvardhana's eulogy does not end here It is continued thus—' By him (Vishnuvardhana) having brought into subjection with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many kings of the north, this second name of 'supreme king of kings and supreme lord' pleasing in the world (but) difficult of attainment, is carried on high, Through the dust, grey like the hide of an ass — stirred up by his armies, which have (their) banners lifted on high, (and) which have the lodhra trees tossed about in all directions by the tusks of (their) infuriated elephants, (and) which have the crevices of the Vindhya mountains made resonant with the noise of (their) journeying through the forests,—the orb of the sun appears dark (and) dull-rayed, as if it were an eye in a peacock's tail reversed " 1

Dr Macdonell in his History of Sanskrit Literature (p 23) identifies Yaśodharman with Vishnu vardhana But Messrs Fleet and Hoernle differentiate the two That they were different men appears from Yaśodharman's eulogy being finished

in one couplet, while Vishnuvardhana's description covers as many as four. The former is called a Jinendra (a ruler of men) and the latter i. e., Vishnuvardhana Varadhipati and Rajadhiraja Paramesvara or a ruler of men and the supreme king and the supreme lord. Yasodharman is described as having plunged into the ranks of his enemy and humiliated them—the reference being evidently to his victory over the Huns, but Vishnuvardhana is lauded for exalting his lineage for bringing into subjection mighty kings of the east and the north and also of the south (as is evident from the crevices of the Vindhya mountains being made resonant by his army). The particles पुनश्च and स एव in the third line quoted above mean again or also and even he' respectively.

We cannot, however, agree with Mr Fleet when he says that though Vishnuvardhana had the titles of Rajadhiraja and Paramesvara he appears to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yasodharman. It is very difficult to ascertain why Mr Fleet arrives at such a conclusion. The only thing which may have led him to think thus is the placing of Yasodharman before Vishnuvardhana in the inscription specially when this has been done by Daksha whose family is indebted for its present high position to the king Vishnuvardhana. But Yasodharman is Daksha's immediate overlord, and Vishnuvardhana who has made Yasodharman his feudatory, is magnanimous enough not to object to the placing of his name below Yaso-

dharmān's specially on account of the valuable services rendered to his motherland by Yaśodharman in organising the allied army and in routing the Hunnish horde though with the aid of allies one of whom might have been Vishnuvardhana himself. But Yaśodharman after the victory probably lost his head and entertained ambitious designs and was therefore woisted in the battle field by Vishnu vardhana.

The second inscription (of Yaśodharman and Vishnuvardhana) must be later than the first and its duplicate, (in which the achievements of only Yaśodharman are mentioned), because in the latter Yaśodharman expressly says that his head had never bent itself before anyone except the God Sthanu whom he worshipped.

But who was Vishnuvardhana? Nothing is known of him except what is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of 533-34 A.D. Yaśodharman is known through three inscriptions and Vishnu vardhana through only one. We may suggest that he was the ancestor of the celebrated king of Thaneshvar and Kanauj—Harshavardhana—who ruled Northern India as the paramount sovereign for more than forty years from 606 to 647 A.D. All the ancestors of Harshavardhana have not as yet been traced.

Bāna in his Harshacharita mentions Prabhakara vardhana as the father of Harsha and Pushpabhuti as his remote ancestor. The Sonpat seal mentions Prabhakaravardhana as the father, A'dityavardhana

as the grand father and Rājā andhāna I (because Harsha had an elder brother of the name of Rājā vardhāna II who reigned only for a few months) as the great grand father of Harshavardhāna. Therefore there is nothing to preclude Vishnuvardhāna's being the predecessor of Rājyavardhāna I. If this is accepted, Vishnuvardhāna, Rājāvardhāna I, Adityavardhāna and Prabhakāravardhāna may divide among themselves the seventythree years obtained by deducting five hundred and thirty three, the date of Mandasor inscription, from six hundred and six the date of Harsha's accession.

The surname 'vardhāna' and the 'aulikar' emblem mentioned in connexion with Vishnuvardhāna in the inscription favour our hypothesis 'Aulikara' according to Mr Fleet means "the hot-rayed (Sun). It may be thus derived उह (a Vedic verb) = to burn + णिन् औलि (burnin_) औलि + कृ + अ औलि-कर (that which burns). We know that Harsha and his ancestors were worshippers of the Sun.¹ Vishnu is sometimes used to designate one of the twelve Adityas (Suns), presiding over the month of Pausa. Most probably Vishnuvardhāna flourished after Pushyabhūti and before Rājyavardhāna I.

It has been said by H. Sang, the celebrated Chinese Traveller, who visited India during the reign of Harshavardhāna, that it was Baladitya, who defeated and imprisoned Mihirakula. This seems at first sight to be inconsistent with the

statement of Vasodharman in the Mandasor inscription that it was he who crushed the Emperor of the Huns. But we have already pointed out that the disintegration of the Gupta empire began with the death of Skandagupta. He was succeeded by Kumaragupta II about 470 A.D. as appears from Dimodarpur copperplate, Sarnath statues and Mandasor stone inscription. He was succeeded by Budhagupta about 476 A.D. as is evident from Sarnath statues and Eran stone-pillar inscription and coins, and died about 500 A.D.

The translation of the undated Bhitari Seal inscription¹ is given below.

“His (Chandragupta II's) son was Maharyadhira-
raja the glorious Kumaragupta (I), who meditated
on his feet (and) who was begotten on the Mahadevi
Dhruvadevi. His son was the Maharyadhiraja,
the glorious Puragupta who meditated on his feet
and who was begotten on the Mahadevi Ananta-
devi. His son was the Maharyadhiraja the glorious
Narasimhagupta, begotten on the Mahadevi
Srivatsadevi. His son was the most devout wor-
shipper of the Divine One—the Maharyadhiraja
the glorious Kumaragupta, who meditated on his
feet and who was begotten on the Mahadevi
Srimati Devi’

We know from the stone inscriptions and one copperplate inscription that Skandagupta succeeded his father Kumaragupta I and reigned from 455 to about 470 A.D. But in the Bhitari

1 Edited by Messrs Smith and Hoernle in J. A. S. B. Vol. 58

seal quoted above Puragupta is mentioned as the successor of Kumāragupta (I) Narasimhagupta that of Puragupta and Kumāragupta (III) that of Narasimhagupta. We may suggest that Puragupta was the elder brother of Skandagupta and the rightful heir, and that the name of his mother was Anantadevi. Skandagupta was a younger son of his father by another wife. When Kumāragupta died or more probably fell fighting (see also Chap. III) with the Pushyamitras Anantadevi like Kumudavati, the wife of Kusa in Raghuvamśam might have become a Sati or burnt herself on a funeral pyre. Skandagupta, who was more competent diplomatic and popular than Puragupta, contrived to ascend the throne of his father. Puragupta might have retired to his province Bihar where he was was not apparently molested by his younger brother. There may be a reference to Skandagupta's diplomatic ability in Kalidasa's description of Atithi in the seventeenth canto of his Raghuvamśam. In the Junagadh inscription of 456-57 A. D. occurs the following verse which alludes to Skandagupta's selection as emperor by the Goddess of Prosperity or Royalty—

क्रमेण बुद्ध्या निपुण प्रचार्य ध्यात्वा च कृतस्नान् गुण-दोष हतून् ।

व्यपत्य सर्वान् मनुजान्द्रुपुलान् लक्ष्मी स्वयं वरयाचकार ॥

Whom the Goddess of Fortune and Splendour of her own accord selected as her husband having in succession (and) with judgment skilfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues

and faults, (and) having discarded all [the other sons of kings (the King Kumaragupta I ?)]—(as not coming up to her standard ¹ Samudragupta was selected by his father Chandragupta I to succeed him So was Chandragupta II by his father Samudragupta Such a selection roused the envy of the other son who took recourse to intrigues and other evil means to the attainment of their ends This is probably hinted at in the following—

इतिरैरपि क्लृप्तात्मसात् प्रयत्नान् नृपसूनवो हि यत् ।

तदुपस्थितमग्रहीदजः पितुराज्ञेति न भोगनृण्यया ॥

R V — VIII 2

(What others seek by wrong to make their own,
He took submissive from his father's hand,
Not lusting after power)—P D L J

(बाঞ্ছ লভিত কত নৃপতিতনয়,

নানাবিধ পাপকাৰ্য্য ববে নাক ভয় ।

হেন বাঞ্ছপদ অজ্ঞ নিস্পৃহ অন্তরে

লইলেন পিতৃ আজ্ঞা পালনের তবে ॥)

Skandagupta, however, was not selected by his father to succeed him But it was Lakshmi, or Kula Lakshmi or RyaLakshmi who chose Skandagupta for his merits This must have happened after his father's premature death, when he managed to make himself emperor, though Puragupta was the lawful heir The poet, who compares Kumaragupta I with Kusá (who dies in a war with the Daityas) and his son Skandagupta with Atithi, says, for justifying Skandagupta's succession that Atithi was selected

by his father as his heir apparent in his father's life time (R V XVII 30)

But after the death of Skandagupta in 470 A D when Kumaragupta II ascended the throne, Purugupta availing himself of the weakness of his nephew and the growing discontent in certain parts of the empire declared himself as an independent sovereign and struck coins and assumed the name of Vikramaditya, as appears in his gold coins—the word Pura being on one side and Srivikrama on the other—and reigned probably up to 480 A D. He was succeeded in about 485 A D by his son Narasimhagupta, who assumed the name of Baladitya as appears from the Bhitari seal, H. Sang's account and coins—the words जयति नरसिंहगुप्त being on one side and बालादित्य on the reverse. He was succeeded by his son Kumaragupta III, who assumed the title of Kramaditya. The reason why Kumaragupta III in the Bhitari seal omitted the names of Skandagupta, Kumaragupta II and Bhidhagupta, and mentioned his grandfather Puragupta as the successor of Kumaragupta I, Narasimhagupta as Puragupta's successor and himself as Narasimhagupta's successor was that he wanted the people to regard his own branch and not that of Skandagupta as the legitimate line of the Gupta Emperors specially when his rival Bhinugupta or his successor in the rival line disputed his claim, as the lawful sovereign of the Gupta territories. The genealogical tree of the Gupta emperors is given below—

(S 1) Gupta (c. 271 A.D.)

Ghatotkachagupta (c 290)

Chandragupta I (320-330)

Samudragupta (330-380)

Chandragupta II (380-415)

Kumaragupta I (415-455)

Skandagupta (455-470)¹

Puragupta (470 S.)

Kumragupta II (470-76)

Narasimhagupta (485-527)

Budhagupta (476-505)-2

Kumāragupta III (527)

Bhānugupta (510)

After the death of Budhagupta in about 505 A D Narasimhagupta Baladitya (485 - 527 A D) became the Maharajadhiraja of the whole of the Gupta Empire except the portion conquered by the Huns. It appears (see below) that he paid tribute to the Hun emperor Mihirakula at least for some provinces of his empire.

When Yasódharman at the head of his Central Indian allies routed the forces of Mihirakula about 525 A D , Baladitya taking advantage of the decisive

I 469 or 470 2 See also p 33 where 303' should be substituted for 525

defeat of his formidable enemy in this part of India, refused to pay tribute. Mihirakula with the remnant of his army wanted to punish Baladitya for his insolence. But even now Baladitya was unwilling to fight a pitched battle with Mihirakula. He laid an ambush for his barbarian enemy, imprisoned him and at the intercession of his mother released him. The whole story of Baladitya's fight with Mihirakula, his (Mihirakula's) imprisonment, his treachery, his atrocities and his terrible death are told graphically by H. Sang.

"Baladitya raja, King of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihirakula (Ta tso), he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Mihirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion. Baladitya raja, knowing his renown, said to his ministers 'I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them (their troops) by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass'.

Having said this, he departed from his palace and wandered through the mountains and deserts. Being very much beloved in his kingdom, his followers amounted to many myriads, who fled with him and hid themselves in the islands of the sea.

Mihirakula raja, committing the army to his younger brother, himself embarked on the sea to attack Baladitya. The King guarding the narrow passes whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the

enemy to fight, sounded the golden drum, and his soldiers suddenly rose on every side, and took Mihirakula alive as captive and brought him into the presence (of Baladitya)

The King Mihirakula being overcome with shame at his defeat, covered his face with his robe Baladitya sitting on his throne with his ministers round him, ordered one of them to tell the King to uncover himself, as he wished to speak with him

Mihirakula answered, 'The subject and the master have changed places, that enemies should look on one another is useless, and what advantage is there in seeing my face during conversation?'

Then Baladitya raja, obeying his dear mother's command had pity on the prince bereft of his kingdom, gave him in marriage to a young maiden and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then he assembled the troops he had left and added a guard to escort him from the island

Mihirakula raja's brother having gone back, established himself in the kingdom. Mihirakula having lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts and going northwards to Kas'mir, he sought there an asylum. The king of Kas'mir received him with honour, and moved with pity for his loss, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. After some years he stirred up the people of the town to rebellion, and killed the king of Kas'mir and placed himself on the throne. Profiting by this victory and the renown it got him, he went to the west, plotting against the kingdom of Gandhara. He

set some soldiers in ambush, and took and killed the king. He exterminated the royal family and the chief minister, overthrew the stupas, destroyed saṃgha-rāma-s altogether one thousand six hundred foundations.

Then he slew three ten myriads of people of the first rank by the side of the Sintu (Sindhu) river. But before the year was out he died. At the time of his death there was thunder and hail and a thick darkness, the earth shook and a mighty tempest raged. Then the holy saints said in pity, 'For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has fallen into the lowest hell, where he shall pass endless ages of revolution,'¹ So at last Nemesis overtook the tyrant. We may say to him—

"You thought to grasp the world, but you shall keep

Its curses only crowned upon your brow

You that have fouled the purple, broke your vow,
And sowed the wind of death, the whirlwind
shall you reap."²

To revert to Vas'odharman. Though he rendered signal services to his mother-land by his cardinal victory over Mihirakula, who had threatened Hindu civilisation with his tyrannical might, yet he was not the Vikramaditya, the enemy of the Śakas and the patron of Kalidasa. He defeated the Huns and not the Sakas, and the Śakas and Huns have always been distinguished in Sanskrit Literature. Secondly

1 B B R Vol I pp 168-72

2 E Phillpotts

there is nothing to prove, that he ever assumed the title of Vikramaditya Modesty, at least could not dissuade him from describing himself as Vikramaditya, when he could say that the column he erected would endure 'to the time of the destruction of the world' and that it was erected 'to measure out the earth to enumerate on high the multitude of heavenly lights and to write upon the surface of the moon, the excellence of the virtues of Yasodharman' ¹

If Kalidasa really lived at the court of Vas'odharman, who would under the circumstances be identical with the Prince of Avanti, he could not eulogise the Emperor of Magadha in such eloquent terms, nor could he make him the most powerful and glorious suzerain of a thousand kings (R V—VI—22)

Chapter III

Kalidasa and the Guptas

*'To them no bounds of Empire I assign
Nor term of years to their immortal line'—
Virgil—Aeneid Book I (Dryden)*

We now pass on to the examination of the third hypothesis—that Kalidasa was a contemporary of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, who was styled Vikramaditya and ruled from 380 to 415 A D.

From the genealogical table given above (see p. 72) it will appear that Chandragupta II succeeded Samudragupta in 380 as Emperor of all the Gupta territories except Malwa, Surashtra or Kathiawār and Mathurā. He was the grandson of Chandragupta I (320-30 A D.) the first independent sovereign of the Gupta dynasty and founder of the Gupta Era, which began according to Alberuni in 242 Śāka Era or 320 A D. The Vayu Purana, revised before the reign of Chandragupta II, most probably in the reign of Chandragupta I, describes the extent of the Gupta Empire thus—

अनुगङ्गाप्रयाग च साकेत मगधास्तथा ।

एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवशजा ॥

Prayaga, and the districts near it drained by the Ganges, and Magadha or Bihar will be ruled by the Gupta Dynasty.

Samudragupta (330-380 A D), son of Chandragupta I and father of Chandragupta II, extended considerably the dominions of his father. Though the chiefs of Malwa and Surashtra and those of Mathura acknowledged his suzerainty, he did not annex their territories.

We have described (See p. 6) the occupation (from 100 B C, to 100 A D) by the Scythians of Taxila, Mathura, and Surashtra or Kathiawar. A section of the Scythians of Surashtra, occupied several districts round Nasik. Their Chiefs were called Satraps (a Persian word for provincial governors) or Kshatrapas. When they became independent they called themselves Mahakshatrapas. Princes before their accession were also called Kshatrapas. Their law of succession was peculiar. After the death of a king, his eldest son (X) succeeded him, then the younger brother (Y) of X and so on, and then the sons of X, and so on. The Satraps of Taxila and Mathura were allied to each other as those of Surashtra and Nasik. The former were called northern Satraps, and those of Kathiawar and the Deccan western Satraps. The Satraps of the Deccan were also known as Khakkaratas or Khaharatas. They were at first the real or nominal Viceroys of the Indo-Parthian and then of the Kushan Kings of Northern India. The Khaharata dynasty of the Deccan were destroyed, and their dominions annexed in 119 A D by Raja Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni of the Andhra dynasty, who had their capital at Parthana. The Kshatrapas of Surashtra or Kathiawar appear to have been the most powerful of all the

Satthian families They occupied Kathiawar in the first century A D Later on they extended their dominions, which during the reign of Rudradaman I (who flourished about 130 A D) covered Malwa Guzerat, Kathiawar, Cutch, Sindh, Mewar Marwar Sirohi, Jhalawar, Kota Pratapgarh Kishangar Dungarpur Bansbera, Ajmer and Northern Konkan¹ Chashtana, the grandfather of Rudrad'mana I, late in the first century after Christ, extended his dominions, and established his capital at Ujjayini which remained as the metropolis of this family till its expulsion by Chandragupta II "Ujjayini was one of the most ancient cities of India the principal depot for the commerce between the ports of the west and the interior famous as a seat of learning and civilization and also notable as the Indian Greenwich from which longitudes were reckoned The place which is still a considerable town with many relics of its past greatness, retains its ancient name and was for a long time the capital of Maharastra Scindia'² The present observatory at Ujjaini was founded by Maharaja Sawai Jaising II of Jaipur who was born in 1686, and died in 1743 He succeeded to the Ambar territories in 1699 In 1719 he was appointed by Emperor Mahammad Shah governor of the province of Agra and soon after of Malwa In 1734 he became again governor of Malwa He was the founder of Jaipur He built astronomical observatories at five of the principal cities of India

1 B P R—I—2 and E H I—p 308

2 E H I—p 308

The Ujjaini observatory is situated to the southwest of the city in a secluded part of the quarter called Jaisingpura on the beautiful northern bend of the Sipra. The four instruments built of fine Jaipur marble are the Samrat Yantra or Equinoctial Dial, the Narivalaya Yantra or Circular Sundial, the Digamsa Yantra or the Azimuth Instrument, and the Dakshinavritti Yantra or the Meridian Circle corresponding to the modern Transit Circle.

The Udayagiri cave inscriptions ¹ of Chandragupta II, one of which bears the year 82 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to 400 A D, establish the fact that the Paramabhattacharya and Maharajadhiraja, the glorious Chandragupta (II) annexed Malwa and put an end to the domination of the Western Satraps before 400 A D. Udayagiri is a well known hill, with a small village of the same name on the eastern side of it, about two miles to the northwest of Bhilsa in Eastern Malwa. The second undated Udayagiri inscription, commemorates the construction of a cave-temple of the god Śāmbhu by Saba Virasena of Pataliputra, who was both a scholar and a poet and the minister of peace and war, and who came here accompanied by his master, who was seeking to conquer the whole world and who shone like the sun and was radiant with internal light ².

The latest date of the Ujjaini Mahākshatrapas is 310 Śāka or 388 A D. They were exterminated by Chandragupta II in that year or about that year, a conclusion which follows from the fact that the Ksha-

trapas, who generally issued coins every year, did not do so after 310 Śāka ¹

Another inscription on a red sandstone was discovered at Mathura in 1853. It gives the genealogy of Chandragupta II and adds —

“परमभागवतेन महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तेन” or “By him, the most devout worshipper of the Divine one, the Maharyadhi², the glorious Chandragupta (II)” - From this inscription we can safely conclude that Chandragupta II put an end also to the rule of the Kushana dynasty or of the Kshatrapa dynasty at Mathura at about the time he extirpated the Kshatrapas of Ujjaini. These Kshatrapas and Kushanas were foreigners and were never liked by the Hindus for their uncleanness, their alien manners and customs, and lastly for their tyranny. Some of them had liberal religious views. Kanishka's coins bear the figures and names of Greek, Persian, Br hmanic and Buddhist deities ³

Though most of them became Hinduised, yet the Br hmanas, to whom they did not accord the respect which they expected, regarded them as having been degraded from the position of Kshatriyas to that of Sudras ⁴. So it was natural that Chandragupta II, who destroyed the rule of the Kshatrapas, would be acclaimed by the people as their liberator, and as the restorer of Brahmanva Dharma, and would be given the appellations of Sakāri and Vikramaditya. We

1 P H I 2 C I—4 3 P H I

4 Mahabharata—Anusasanika Parva Chap 33

find in his coins ' श्रीविक्रम , ' विक्रमादित्य ' and ' अजित-विक्रम ' , and in the coins which depict him as the lion slayer occurs ' सिंहविक्रम ' .

It has been proved that Chandragupta II was Śākari or the Conqueror of the Sakas or the Western Kshatrapas that he was styled Vikramāditya, and that as Ujjaini was the capital of the western Kshatrapas, he must have at least for some time stayed there for the organisation of his newly conquered provinces. That his stay at Ujjaini was sufficiently long, is proved by the following statement of Sir R G Bhāndarkar, which he bases on the Bombay Gazetteer, "Chandragupta II assumed the title of Vikramāditya which we find on his coins. He made Ujjaini his capital. For the Chieftains of the name of Guttas (Guptas) of Guttal in the Dharwar district give themselves in their inscriptions the title of Ujjainipuravaradhis'vara, which like similar titles found in other places signifies that they belonged to a family, which once reigned in glory at Ujjaini. They trace their descent through Vikramāditya specified as King of Ujjaini, and are styled full moons of the ocean of nectar in the shape of the lineage of Chandragupta. Ujjaini was thus the capital of the Guptas from whom the Dharwar Guptas derived their descent. In one place, however instead of Ujjaini we have Patala in the title, showing that Pataliputra, the original capital, had not been forgotten by the Southern Guptas " 1

The Rajatarangini describes Vikramāditya Śākari

as a patron of learning. He is said to have made Matrīgupta, who was a poet and a dramatic critic, King of Kashmir. Matrīgupta himself was the patron of a poet named Mentha or Bhairīmentha (the author of *Hayagrīva-adha*). These two were contemporaries of Chandragupta Vikramāditya. The date assigned by Cunningham to Matrīgupta is 430 A.D., which is not far removed from that of the Gupta King as determined from his inscriptions. Mentha has been associated with Vikramāditya by the compilers of anthologies, who ascribe the following verse to their joint authorship.¹

लम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जन नम ।

असत्पुरुषसेवेव इष्टिर्निष्फलता गता ॥

(Thick darkness covers the limbs. The sky rains collyrium. So sight has become fruitless like serving a wicked man.) But this verse is at least as old as the *Balacharita* and *Charudatta* of Bhasa (300 A.D.), in both of which it occurs (see Introduction to *Svapna vasavadatta* by T. G. Śāstri, p. XXIII).

There is nothing to identify Kālidāsa with either Matrīgupta or his ward Mentha except this statement in *Rajataranginī*. But this proves one thing, viz., that Chandragupta II was a patron of letters. Samudragupta, Chandragupta's father, was a poet and musician. "In none of his books Kālidāsa shows any familiarity with the scenes and surroundings of Kashmir."²

Chandragupta II may have inherited from his father his taste for fine arts. He selected for his minister Śāba Virasena, who was a poet and was versed in Logic. So it was natural that Chandragupta would attract to his court scholars and poets like Kālidāsa. In *Malavikāgnimitram*, which is according to Dr. Keith "unquestionably the first dramatic work of Kālidāsa", a play performed at a spring festival probably at Ujjain (see p. 29), we find the stage manager apologising for the enactment of a new play composed by a new dramatist named Kālidāsa in preference to the well known plays of dramatists of established reputation like Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kavi-putra. That *Malavikāgnimitram*, *Vikramorvaśī* and *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam* are the works of the same poet has been established by eminent Sanskrit Scholars like Doctors Macdonell and Keith. In *Śakuntalā* Kālidāsa refers to King Vikramaditya¹ (see p. 3). So though the name of Vikramaditya is not mentioned in the two other dramas, and only the name of Kālidāsa is mentioned in the expression कालिदासप्रथितवस्तु, the *Paṇīśhad* or the assembly before which the dramas were enacted, could not but be that of Vikramaditya.

As Kālidāsa is described as a newcomer to the field of dramatic composition, when he published his *Malavikāgnimitram*, which shows signs of immaturity, it is evident that he was quite a young man, when he first presented himself at the court of Chandragupta II.

The settlement of the territories won from the

¹ Probably Skandagupta who was also designated Kramaditya and Vikramaditya.

Kshatrapas by Chandragupta II rendered necessary his stay at Ujjayini which became practically his capital. Pataliputra was at first the only metropolis. Then as his kingdom became more extensive, Ayodhya, a central place, as Mr Rapson says, was selected as the second capital. Kalidasa identifies Ayodhya with Saketa (R V 31). Later on after the conquest of Malwa about 390 A. D. as Sir R. G. Bhadarkar states, Ujjayini became the third capital. Mr Rapson says that the latest dated coin of the Western Kshatrapas is of 388 A. D.¹ This shows that Chandragupta conquered their territories with their capital Ujjayini after 388 A. D., and then struck his own coins.

Kalidasa in the *Strayamvata* scene (bridegroom selection by the Vidhata's Princess Indumati, (Canto VI) of his *Raghuvamsam* puts in the mouth of Sunandā, the female attendant of Indumati, a brilliant description of the King of Magadha who is most probably Chandragupta Vikramaditya thus—

असौ शरभ्य शरणोन्मुखानामगाधसत्त्वोमगधप्रतिष्ठ ।

राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवण परन्तपोनाम यथार्थनामा ॥

काम नृपा सन्तु सहस्रशोऽन्ये, राजन्वतीमाहुरनेन भूमिम् ।

नक्षत्रताराग्रहसकुलापि ज्योतिष्मती चद्रमसैव राशि ॥

क्रियाप्रवन्धादयमध्वराणामजस्रमाहूतसहस्रनेत्र ।

शक्याश्चिर पाण्डुकपोललम्बान्, मन्दारञ्जनपानलकाश्चकार ॥

अनेन चेदिच्छसि गृह्यमाण, पाणि वरेणेपन कुद प्रवेशे ।

प्रासादवातायनसर्वाश्रिताना नेत्रोत्सव पुष्पपुराङ्गनानाम् ॥

(R V VI 21 to 24)

¹ Rapson's Catalogue of Andhra and western Kshatrapa coins p. CLI

“Deep are his thoughts and strong his arm to save
 In Magadha he rules, his people’s joy,
 Whose blazing wrath burns up his stubborn foes
 Alone he’s Spouse of Earth, though thousand Kings
 Usurp the style, as Soma rules the night
 ’ Mid stars and planets, pale beside his throne,
 So rules he Earth By constant rites devout,
 Where Indra still appears, he pales the cheek
 Of S’achi, while her curls hang limply down
 Undecked with Svarga’s flowers—a mourning bride,
 Her husband absent Give, o give thy hand
 To him in wedlock charm bright, loving eyes
 By festal entry to his noble town,
 Whose dames expectant wait”—She Spake and

paused”

—P D L J

(Give wait—The meaning is not clear It should be translated thus—If it please thee to marry this Great King thou wilt delight the eyes of the ladies of Pushpapura who will be looking through the palace windows when thou wilt enter the city)

পবস্তপ নাম এই মগধ ঈশ্বৰ,
 অবিন্দম মহাবীৰ, প্রকৃতি গম্ভীৰ
 প্রজাব বঞ্জন কার্যে বত বিবস্তব,
 দীনৈব শরণ বাজা পবম সুধীর ।
 যদিও সহস্র বাজা আছেন ধনায়,
 এই রাজা হতে ধবা হৈলা বাজহতী,
 যদিও অগণ্য তাৰা শোভিত নিশায়,
 কিন্তু নিশা পেয়ে শৰী হন জ্যোতিয়তী ।
 বহু বজ্জ সাধি সদা মগধ ঈশ্বৰ

নিজাগাৰ বাসনৰে বাৰ নিবতৰ ,
 ইন্দ্রৰ বিবহে স্বৰ্গ শতীৰ বদন ,
 বিমুক্ত অলক তাই নন্দাৰ বিহাৰ ।
 ইচ্ছা যদি, দেও পাণি এই বাজবৰে,
 বাই ব কুন্তাপুৰ বমণী নিকটে,
 মহোৎসব মাতি, বসি ইন্দ্র-বাত্মান,,
 জুড়াব নয়ন তোমা তেঁতি, ববাননে ।—N D

Chandragupta was truly a 'paianatapa' or the oppressor of his foes Did he not rescue the inhabitants of Malwa from the tyranny of foreign domination? He was the 'saranva' or refuge of those who wanted his protection Was he not Kalidasa's patron? He was like 'Chandra' or the moon Did he not bear the name of Chandragupta? He was the King of Kings So was Chandragupta He was the performer of many sacrifices Was not Chandragupta styled Paramabhagabata or a very religious man—a devoted worshipper of Vishnu? Sahasranetra or the thousand-eyed Indra was always with him on account of his numerous sacrifices Was not Chandragupta styled Devaryja ¹? As the Emperor of Magadha his capital was Pushpapura or Pataliputra, though he had Ayodhya as his second and later on Ujjain as his third capital Has not the Viceroy of British India also three capitals—Dehli, Simla and Calcutta?

In Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription the word Pushpapura also occurs Regarding this, Mr Fleet says, "In connexion with Samudragupta, there

is mentioned in line 4, a City named Pushpapura, which is spoken of in such a way as to indicate apparently that it was his capital Pushpapura, Pushpa puri and Kusumapura, all meaning the town or city, of flowers were names of Pataliputra, which is now represented by the modern Patna in Bihar on the Ganges, the original City Pataliputra itself, stood on the opposite south bank of the river, at the place where in ancient times, the Son used to flow into it' ¹ Hsien Tsiang says that of the two names Pataliputra and Kusumpura given to the City, the latter is the more ancient

There is, however, as Mr Fleet says, the fact that no inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty have been found anywhere in the neighbourhood of Pataliputra till the time of Skandagupta. But we should remember that of the two inscriptions of Samudragupta, five of Chandragupta II and four of Kumargupta I, all except the Allahabad pillar inscriptions of Samudragupta have been engraved by the orders of feudatory princes, ministers or others

So far as Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription is concerned, it may be stated that Kausambi (18 miles from Allahabad on the Jumna) from which as General Cunningham says, the pillar was removed to Allahabad, was selected by Samudragupta, because it was a central place or more probably because it was difficult to find such a high (35 feet), round, artistically carved and polished monolith sandstone column as that which Asoka had set up in the 3rd cen

ture B C It is also probable that the royal Champion of Brahmanism wanted thus to eclipse the glory of the royal Champion of Buddhism The sculptors of Samudragupta's time were not probably expert like their predecessors in the 3rd century B C, for we find no pillar inscriptions in the reigns of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I except that on the Asoka pillar (already referred to) and those on pillars set up at Bilsad in the district of Etah during Kumaragupta's rule by Dhruvasarman, which formed parts of the temple of the god Kartikeya.¹ Emperor Jahangir also could not resist the temptation of engraving an inscription on the Asoka pillar

Indumati, after Sunanda's eulogy on the Anga Prince 'turned off her eyes from him' and ordered Sunanda to proceed She took her to the King of Anupa with his capital at Mahishmati, who was descended from the thousand handed warrior Kartya virya, the conqueror of Ravana, but Indumati 'felt no liking for him' Similarly she 'passed by' King Sushena of Surasena or Mathur, 'turned away' from Hemangada, King of Kalinga, and 'did not heed the advice of Sunada who asked her to select the King of Pandya' But when she left the King of Magadha, she did it after an artless bowing to him, and she came away from the King of Ujjayini and did not tie her heart to him' It may, however, be said that at least Anga and Surasena were included in the Gupta domi-

mions, but they may have been ruled by feudatory princes The prince of Anga (Bhagalpur District with Champā or Bhagalpur as its capital) might be even one of the sons of Kumaragupta—either Skandagupta or Puragupta, who was acting as his father's viceroy The verse 'काम नृपा भूमिम् (see p 85) is significant

As Kalidasa refers first of all to Chandragupta Vikramaditya, his first patron, in his description of the Emperor of Magadha in the sixth Canto of Raghuvamsam so he alludes to his second patron Kumaragupta I, Chandragupta's son and successor, in the person of the King of Avantī who had his capital at Ujjaini—

तत पर इप्सुसह द्विषद्विनृप नियुक्ता प्रतिहारभूमौ ।
निदर्शयामास विशेषदृश्यमिन्दु नवोत्थानमिवेद्भूमौ ॥
अवन्तिनाथोऽयमुदग्रबाहुर्विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्य ।
आरोप्य चक्रभ्रममुष्णतेजास्त्वष्ट्रेव यक्षोल्लिखितो विभाति ॥
अस्य पूयाणेषु समग्रशक्तेरग्रेसरैर्वाजिभिरुत्थितानि ।
कुर्वन्ति सामन्तशिखामणीना, पभापरोहास्तमय रजासि ॥
असौ महाकालनिकेतनस्य वसन्तदूरे किल चन्द्रमौले ।
तमिन्नपक्षेऽपि सहप्रियाभिज्योत्स्नावतो निर्विशति प्रदोषान् ॥
अनेन यूना सह पार्थिवेन, रम्भोरु । कश्चिन्मनसो रुचिस्ते ।
सिपातरङ्गानिलकम्पितासु विहर्तुं सुखानपरम्परासु ॥
तस्मिन्नभिद्योतितबधुपद्मे, प्लापसशोषितशुपङ्के ।
बबन्ध सा नोत्तमसौकुमार्या कुमुद्वती भानुमतीव भावम् ॥

[Then passing onward with her fair Princess,
The Lady praised another noble King,
Renowned for virtues, terrible to foes,
Fair as new-risen moon —“Avanti's Lord
Behold, long armed, broad chested, thin of flank,
With doubled radiance shining, like the Sun
By Vis'vakarma polished and refined
When he in dauntless might goes forth to war,
The gems that flash from rivals' crowns are
dimmed,

By dust his steed casts up, as evening clouds
Obscure the Sun Hard by that mighty God,
Whose brow the Moon adorns, this noble King
Dwells in great Kala , so through all the months
He with his queens takes joy in lightsome nights
O Slender waisted Maid, wilt thou not yield,
And find thy bliss in wandering through fair
groves,
That wave 'neath S'ipra's breeze, with this great
King?”

But not on him the peerless Maiden fixed
Her tender love, though lily like he charmed
Friends, scorching foes as Sun dries up a marsh—
So close at dawn those flowers which love the
Moon

—P D L I

(In great Kala—a mistake, should be ‘in Maha
kala’, the name of the place, where is situated the
temple of S'iva called Mahakala or Chandis vara See
Meghaduta)

আব এক নবপতি, নব ইন্দুস্যা,
সুদৃশ্য আকৃতি তাঁর, অ বিকুলযা,
দেখাইল ইন্দুমতী বাজ-কন্তকাবে,
প্রতিহাবভূগিবক্ষী সুনন্দা সাদবে ।

“মহাবাহু এ যুবক অবন্তী-ঈশ্বর
সুগোল সুতলু কটি, বন্ধ সুবিশাল,
বিশ্বক্স্মা শাণচক্রে শানিত তাকর
সম তেজ, শোভিছেন এই মহীপাল ।

বণভূমে যান যাব অবন্তী বাজন্,
অগ্রগামী বাজি-বাজি দ্রুতপদভাবে
সমুখিত ধূলাবাণি আববে গগন,
সামন্ত রূপতি শিবোমনি-তেজ হবে ।

মহাকাল নাম বামে আছে শঙ্কর,
জলে যাব ভালে শশী, শীতল কিরণে
উজ্জলি অদূবে পুৰী, চাই নৃপবর
অসিত পদ্মেও জ্যোৎস্না ভুঞ্জে নাবী সনে ॥

উচ্ছা তব হয় কি লো ইন্দুনিভাননে,
বিহবিতে প্রেমভাবে এ যুবাব সনে,
সি প্রাচবঙ্গিনীতাবে উত্তান-মালায়,
উন্মি-স্পর্শ শীতবায়ু খেলিছে যথায় ?”

কোমলাঙ্গী কুমুদিনী-সম ইন্দুমতী
সুর্ষ্যতেজা এ বাজায় ববিবে কেমনে,—
শোষে বিপুরুপ পঙ্ক ঘেই মহামতি,
প্রকুল বাধেন পদ্মপ্রায় বন্ধুগণে । — N D

The Poet here refers to the time when Chandragupta II is the great Emperor of Magadha, and his son Kumāragupta is his Viceroy at Ujjayini. The old Moon is shining over the whole Empire with its capital at Pushpapura, and the young King Kumāragupta like the newly risen Moon is acting as his Viceroy at Ujjayini or Avanti. Kumāragupta is compared also to Aja who is broad-chested like the King of Avanti.

It is necessary to point out an incongruity in the Svayamvara scene. The poet in his desire to praise the line of his royal patrons forgets that he makes both the father and son court the same princess. Kālidāsa himself feels some constraint on this account. But if the grateful poet would not introduce the Sovereign of Magadha his first Imperial Patron, to whom he owed so much, he would remain un eulogised. He tries however, to extricate himself from this delicate situation with some difficulty. He refers indirectly to Chandragupta's age in his being अगाधसत्त्व or grave and thoughtful, and in his having performed innumerable sacrifices. The poet uses simply the term पाणिग्रहण or marriage in connexion with the Emperor, and does not mention the enjoyment of each other's company in pleasure gardens &c, nor refers to his youth or his handsome person, as he does in the cases of other Princes. Indumatī also bows reverently to this worthy Emperor, who is fit to be her father in law, and leaves the place.

The poet, who has acted as the ambassador in the negotiation of this marriage, (see below) makes his

patron Kumaragupta, in the latter part of whose reign the poem is begun, conquer all the hostile princes with the prowess of his single arm, though we know that valour is not Kumaragupta's eminent characteristic

We should remember that the names of both Vikramaditya of 58 B C and Yasodharman of 528 A D are associated with Ujjaini or Avanti and not with Magadha. Kalidasa's first mention of the King of Magadha and his styling him the greatest among a thousand kings support the hypothesis that the Poet's first patron was Chandragupta II (Vikramaditya), Emperor of Magadha and Ujjaini.

The King of Avanti in the verses quoted above is like the newly risen moon. In some of his coins, Kumaragupta is described as गुप्तकुलामलचन्द्र or the spotless moon of the Gupta Dynasty. When Kalidasa was presented to the Court of Chandragupta, the latter must have been an adult. Kalidasa had known Kumaragupta even from his birth which he likens to that of the War God Kumara or Kartikeya in his Kumarasambhavam. In this passage he describes the King of Avanti as a young man. The detailed description of his personal features shows the poet's familiarity with his patron. The King of Avanti is compared to the Sun. Kumaragupta was called Mahendraditya i.e., the great Indra and the Sun. We shall see later on that he is also compared with Kusa and his son Skandagupta with Atithi and that Kumaragupta's inauguration as heir-apparent by his father is compared with that of Ayus by Pururavas.

It may be necessary in connexion with the *Sayamvara* to point out that *Kalidasa* names the capital of the *Pandya* King as 'उरगावसन्पुरस्य नाथ' i.e., the lord of *Uraga* named city or *Uragapur*. In the time of the *Mauurya* king *Asoka* (272—232 B.C.) *Uragapur* (old *Trichinopoly*) was the capital of the *Chola* kingdom and *Madura*¹ in the *Tinnevely* district, the capital of *Pandya*. In the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. the *Cholas* being attacked by the *Pandyas* and *Pallavas* declined and the *Pandyas* made *Uragapur* their second capital. We know from *Sewell's* works that the hostilities between the *Cholas* and *Pandyas* 'became acute from the beginning of the third century, and at the end of the struggle, the *Cholas* lost their kingdom and capital'. It may be inferred that they lost them in the fourth century, "for in the beginning of the sixth century we find them three hundred miles away from their home"².

Mr Fleet says that *Samudragupta* is always compared with *Yama*, *Kuvera*, *Varuna* and *Indra*. The comparison of the King with यमकुबेरजलेधरवज्रिण occurs in the ninth canto of the *Raghuvamsam* with reference to another great King of the *Raghu* dynasty, viz, *Dasaratha*, who like *Samudragupta* conquered 'the world' and performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. *Samudragupta* was selected as his successor in 330 A.D. by his father *Chandragupta I*, whose

1 *Mr Sankara* states that the *Tamil* name of *Madura* is *Alavay* (snake)—vide *Mr K. C. Chatterjee's*—*Date of Kalidasa*, p. 121.

2 *J. B. O. R. S.*—Vol II Part I

dominions consisted only of Sāketa, Magadha and the districts near Prayāga drained by the Ganges. As Samudragupta was selected for his fitness by his father Chandragupta I to succeed him in preference to others, Chandragupta II was chosen by Samudragupta as his successor probably for the same reason. Mr Fleet says, 'A clear indication of some such custom is afforded by the epithet तत्परिगृहीत "accepted (as his favourite son or successor) by him (Samudragupta)" which is always applied to Chandragupta II in the genealogical passages, e.g., in the lines 9—10 of his Mathura inscription no 4'.¹ So Raghu's kingdom was given to him by his father गुरुणादत्त राज्य (R V — IV—I), while he was alive (III—70). Such also might have been the case with Chandragupta II. Samudragupta might have made him King during his lifetime. Similarly Raghu selected his well qualified son Aja to succeed him—

गुणवत्सुतरोपितश्चिय परिणामे हि दिलीपवराजा ।

पदवीं तद्वल्कवाससा पूयता सयमिना पूषेदिरे ॥

(R V — VIII—II)

(কেনা জানে স্বর্ঘ্যবংশ নৃপতি নিকর

জগবান তনয়েবে দিল্লি বাজ্যধন,

বার্দ্ধক্যে সন্ন্যাসধর্ম কবেন গ্রহণ,

পরিষা বরুণ, মুক্তি সাধন তৎপব ?)

N D

(The kings of the family of Dīlīpa always in their old age practise self control, and lead the lives of ascetics,

wearing barks of trees, after leaving the goddess of empire to the care of their *meritorious* sons)

That Chandragupta's selection of Samudragupta as his successor was wise, was abundantly justified by the young king who became one of the most illustrious conquerors and administrators among the sovereigns of India. Soon after his accession about 330 A D he set out on a career of conquest, at the conclusion of which he himself the 'prince of poets — (य) स्फुटबहुकविताकीर्तिराज्य भुनक्ति — and a patron of poets employed Harishena to compose his panegyric which was inscribed on the Allahabad pillar, and which contained among other things the enumeration of his extensive conquests in nine stanzas of poetry and about thirty lines of prose, and showed a mastery of style rivalling that of Kalidasa and Dandin ¹

Samudragupta's first attack was directed against the Rijas of the Gangetic plain—Rudradeva (of Bundelkhand), Matila (of Eastern Malwa), Nagadatta (of Rajputana), Chandravarman (of Rajputana), Ganapatinaga (of Padmavati or Gwalior), Nagasena (of the Upper Doab), Achyuta (of Rohilkhand), Nandin (of Northern Bengal), Balavarman (of Assam), and the King of the Kotah family and others, whom he 'uprooted' or, 'violently exterminated' and whose dominions he annexed

Similarly Raghu after his accession and before his *digvijaya* took possession of the dominions of the princes who had risen against him —

सममेव समाक्रात द्वय द्विरदगामिना ।

तेन सिंहासनं पिङ्गमखिलं चारिमण्डलम् ॥ (R V IV-4)

(Raghu of majestic deportment simultaneously took possession of his father's throne and his enemy's dominions)

स गुप्तमूलपूत्यन्त शुद्धपाणिंरयावत ।

षडविधं बलमादाय पूतस्थे दिग्जीवीषया ॥

R V IV 26

(Then having made arrangements for defending his capital and the frontier and for preventing an attack on his army from behind, Raghu at an auspicious moment set out at the head of his six kinds of troops to conquer the world)

After having thoroughly subjugated the kings of Ayyavarta or the country between the Himalaya and the Vindhya mountains and reduced to submission the kings of the forest regions (north of the Vindhyas) Samudragupta turned his arms against the kingdoms of the south—'a task which demanded uncommon boldness in design and masterly powers of organisation and execution'¹ He conquered and reestablished in their dominions Mahendra of (south) Kosala in the valley of the Mahanadi Vyghraraja of Mahakantala (the forest regions of Orissa) Svami datta, lord of Mahendragiri and Kottala hillforts²

1 E H I—p 300

2 Evidently the engraver forgot to repeat the word Mahendra a mistake which is very natural We should read—

पैशपुरकन्हेद्र-महेद्रगिरिकौट्ट-रकस्वामिदत्त

in the district of Ganjam Mahendra of Pishtapura (in Pithapuram) Hastivarman of Vengi between the Godavari and the Krishna, the Pallava King Vishnugopa of Kanchi (Conjeveram), the Pallava king Ugrasena of Palakka (in Nellore), Maharaja of Chera or Kerala (Kauralaka, probably a mistake, as Mr Fleet says, for Kairalaka), Nilarya of Avamukta, Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura, Kuvira of Devarashtra (Maharashtra on the west coast, north of the Krishna) and Damana of Erandapalla (Khandes) and all the other kings of the region of the South

Then Samudragupta subjugated and exacted tribute from the frontier kingdoms of Karttipura (Kumaon, Almora, Garwal and Kangra), Nepal, Kamrupa (Eastern Assam), Davaka (or Vanga lying between the Karatoyi on the west, the Meghna on the east, the Khari hills on the north, and the Ganges on the south)¹ Samatata (the Delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra) and other countries on the borders, and also from the tribes of the Malavas, Arjunayanas (Eastern Rajputna), Yaudheyas (who occupied both banks of the Sutlej), Madrakas (north of the Yaudheyas) A'bhiras (Eastern Malwa), Prarjunas (south of the Narmada), Sanakarikas (north of the Narmada), Kakas (north of the Narmada) Kharaparikas (east of the Prarjunas) and other tribes. He also formed alliances with Devaputras (Kushanas still occupied Kabul and surrounding territories. Kushana kings assumed the title of Devaputra), Shabhis (Kushana kings who assumed this title), Sakas (independent or semi-independent Vice

roys or Scythian Khatrapas of Taxilā, Mathura and Ujjayini), Murundas (a Kushāna or Scythian tribe dwelling in Lampaka or Lamghan, north of the Kabul river)¹, and Shāhanushahis and with the people of Simhala, who propitiated him with presents Meghavarna (352-379 A D), the Buddhist King of Ceylon sent valuable presents to Samudragupta, who gave him permission to build a monastery at Buddhagaya. Shāhanushahi or the title of the King of Kings most probably refers to the Persian Emperor Shapur the great, whose empire may have extended up to the borders of northwestern India. Mr Syles in his History of Persia says regarding the eastern campaigns of this King—" Few details are available concerning Shapur's eastern campaigns which lasted from 350 to 357 A D. It appears that the great king was generally successful and strengthened his prestige and power by these campaigns, for when hostilities with Rome broke out the Persian army was supported by a force of the Huns—a tribe which was to inflict later on such untold misery upon the peoples of the West."

Kalidasa does not enter into details in describing the conquests of Raghu, but by means of a few artistic touches he dwells graphically on the principal countries covered by his martial progress. Samudragupta's exploits captivated the imagination of the inhabitants of Āryyāvarta and specially of Kalidasa and his fellow poets in the latter part of the fourth century, as the adventures of Drake, Frobisher, Haw-

kings and Rulers and above all the defeat of the Armada stimulated the minds of Shakespeare and his brother authors. Raghu was like Shakespeare's ideal King Henry V, the concentrated essence of all that was best in the kings of the Gupta Dynasty, whom Kalidasa has described in the most beautiful and touching language in the introduction to his immortal Kalya—

सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानामाफलोदयकमणाम् ।
 आसमुद्रक्षितीशानामानाकरथवत्सनाम् ॥
 यथाविधिहुताग्नीना यथाकामाचिन्तार्थिनाम् ।
 यथापराधदण्डाना यथाकालप्रबोधिनाम् ॥
 त्यागाय सन्तुतार्थाना सत्याय मितभाषिणाम् ।
 यशसे विजिगीषूणा प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम् ॥
 शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्याना यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।
 वार्द्धके मुनिवृत्तीना योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ॥
 रवूणामन्वय वक्ष्ये तनुशाम्बिभवोऽपि सन् ।
 तद्गुणे कगमागत्य चापलाय प्रणोदित ॥

R. V. I 5 to 9

So Raghu's line I sing—pure from their birth,
 Who till they won success worked on, and ruled
 Earth to the sea their car track reached to

Heaven

The altar fire they tended, suppliants all
 Most fully satisfied, ill deeds with stripes
 They punished—nor were slothful in their rule,
 Wealth they amassed to scatter, sparing words,
 Ne'er spoke they falsely, fame in war they sought,

Not gain—and wedded love for noble seed
 Their children studied, gravely youth pursued
 Its decent pleasures, and in ripe old age
 Ascetic lived they—till through pious thought
 At length they passed to win the Bliss Supreme
 Me, poor of wds and foolish, has their fame,
 That sounded through the worlds late, moved to
 write

P D L J

আজন্ম বিস্তৃত বস্তুকুল বাজগণ
 শাসিতেন সনাগৰ অবনীমণ্ডল,
 কবিতেন বিমানেন্তে স্বৰ্গে বিচৰণ,
 কবি কাৰ্য্য লভিতেন সদা পূৰ্ণ ফল ।

যা কালে জাগি প্রজা কবিতা পান,
 দণ্ডিতা উচিতৰূপে অপবাবিগণে,
 দীনেব কামনা সদা কবিতা পূৰণ ।
 হোমেতে কবিতা চুপ্ত দীপ্ত হতাশ ন ॥

দানহেতু কবিতেন ধনেব সঞ্চয়,
 সদা তাঁৰা মিতভাষী সত্যেব কাৰণ,
 কবিতা যশেব তৰে দিগন্ত বিজয়
 পুত্র আশে কবিতেন কলত্র গ্রহণ ।

শৈশবে কবিতা তাঁৰা বিজ্ঞা উপার্জন
 ভুঞ্জিতা বিষবস্তুখ বোবনসময়,
 বৃদ্ধকালে মুনিবৃত্তি কবিতা আশ্রয়,
 চৰমে পৰমযোগে ত্যজিতা জীবন ।

ঠাহাদেব গুণবাশি শুনিহু বধন,
মোহিল মানস তা হইহু চপল,
এহেন ব শেষ কীৰ্ত্তি করিব বর্ণন
বদিও সাগান্য গম বচন সঙ্গল । —A D

Raghu after thoroughly subjugating the kingdoms which lay near Kosál, and after adequately garrisoning the fortresses, which protected his territories, conquered the Kings of Sumha (Burdwan Division) and of southern and south western Bengal, whom he later on restored to their possessions—

অনম্মাণা সমুদ্রচুঁস্তস্মাদ্ সিন্ধুরয়াদিব ।
আত্মা সরক্ষিত সুদ্বৈবৃতিমাশ্রিত্য বৈতসীম্ ॥
বঙ্গানুত্সায় তরসা নেতা নৌসামনোযতান্ ।
নিবল্লান জয়স্তুম্ভান্ গঙ্গান্নোত্তোন্তরেণু স ॥
আপাদপদ্যপ্রণতা কলমা হব তে রঘুন্ম ।
ফলৈ সৰ্বদ্ব্যামাসুরুত্সাত্তপ্রতিরোপিতা ॥

R V IV 35 to 37

(Chiefs who opposed he spoiled—the Suhma power Submitting, won his grace, who bowed like reeds Before a mountain torrent but in wrath He smote the Bangal hosts, who proudly fought, Vainglorious of their ships, triumphal stones On Ganga's isles he reared, his stubborn foe Subdued and then resettled, tribute brought, And bowed like rice before his lotus feet)

P D L, J.

বাচাইলা নিজপ্রাণ ক্ষুদ্রদেশ পতি
 প্রণমিয়া পবন্তপ বঘুব চবণে,
 প্রচণ্ড নদীৰ বেগে বাচেবে যেমতি
 বিনত্র বেতসলতা নমি কায়মনে ।
 পবাজিলা বঘুবাজ নিজ ভুজবলে
 তবী যোগে সযুত বজ্রবাজ দলে,
 নির্ম্মিলা বিজয়ন্তন্ত দ্বীপেব উপবে
 শতমুখে গঙ্গা যথা পশেন সাগবে ।
 উন্মূলিয়া শালিধাতু বোপিলে আবাব
 দেয় যথা শস্য, পবাজিত রাজগণ
 প্রণমি বঘুবপদে, প্রসাদে তাঁহাব
 পুন পেয়ে বাজ্য, তাঁবে দিলা বহুবন—N D

Similarly Samudragupta was contented with exacting tribute from Davaka and Samatata. The mention of the cane plant of fleets in Bengal, where rivers abounded, of the small islands at the mouth of the Ganges, and of the transplantation of paddy, is a true and picturesque description of this part of India.

After passing through Utkala (from Balasore to Lohardaga and Sargujy) the people of which it appears, did not oppose him. Raghu crossed the Kapsi (the Kasai) by means of a bridge formed by his war elephants, and marched towards Kalinga. The capital of the King of Kalinga (from the Vaitarani to Vijagapatam) was protected by the fort situated on the Mahendragiri or Mahendra Hill (see p. 98), which Raghu stormed after a prolonged assault. This sea board country

abounded with betel plants and cocoanut palms from which wine was made Raghu like Samudragupta first conquered and then restored the territories of the King of Mahendragiri—

गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धमविजयी नृप ।

श्रिय महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥ R V —IV —13

(The king with lawful triumph took his fame,
But not his country from Mahendra's King,
And set him free)—P D L J

[মুক্তি দিলা কনিজ্জেবে দিলীপনন্দন,

স্বৰাজ্য তাঁহাবে বধু দিলা পুনৰ্দ্ধাব,

জয়লক্ষ্মী একমাত্র কবিতা হবণ

বীৰধৰ্ম্মে , না হবিতা বাজত তাঁহাব]—N D

The Kingdom of Ayodhya was called Uttara Kosala (R V — VI—71) and the region between the Mahanadi and the Godavari Dakshina Kos'ala, or Mah kos'ala

Then Raghu took possession of the Malaya (the southern portion of the Western Ghats) and Dardura (the Nilgiri hills), in the valley of which grew in abundance cardamom plants (এলাশিতা) and sandal trees beset with serpents

Samudragupta, it appears, did not invade the territories (districts of Dindigul and Tinnevely) of the Pandya King in the extreme south , but when he received presents even from the King of Ceylon it is natural to conclude that the Pandya King also rendered homage to the formidable conqueror The Pandya king prostrated himself at the

feet of Raghu and presented to him valuable pearls found, where the Tamraparni (which falls into the gulf of Manaar) joins the great ocean The Pandya king is described as having a dark skin (R V — VI 65)

Then Raghu crossed the Kaveri and the Sahya mountains or the northern portion of the Western Ghats, and came to Kerala (Cher C nira, Cochin, and Travancore) which he conquered easily, and the women of which fled being stricken with terror—

भयोत्सृष्टविभूषाणा तेन करलयोषिताम् ।

अलकेषु चमुरेणुश्चूर्णप्रतिनिधीकृत ॥

(R V — IV 54)

‘Kerala damsels leaving their adornments, with their bodies being covered, instead of kumkuma powder, with the dust of the advancing army, fled in terror)

[बाजসৈন্ত ভয়েতে কেবল নাবীগণ,

বেশভূষা ছাড়ি ব্যস্তে কবে পলায়ন,

পাছে ধায় সেনাদল, ধূলাবাশি হায়

লাগিছে তাদের কেশে কুকুমের প্রায় ।]—N D

Then he marched northwards, and reached the mouth of the Murali¹ luxuriant with Ketaki and Pun niga or Nigakes'ara flowers and Rajatali and date trees, took the city of Trikuta², and made the three

1 Probably the river Mulamutha which rises near Poona and is a tributary of the Bhima (Mr N L Dey in the Indian Anti quarry)

2 M M H P S'astri identifies it with Mahadeva hills, and Mr N L Dey with Junnar It is the Tagara of Ptolemy in the Nizam's dominions

peaks of the town serve the purpose of his pillars of victory, and exacted tribute from the kings of Aparanta¹

Raghu erected a pillar as a memorial of victory in Bengal and again on Trikuta, so did Samudragupta at Allahabad or Kausambi

Then he proceeded by the land route to conquer the Persians, who were called Yavanas. He terrified by his onrush the wives of the long bearded Yavanas, and then engaged in a fierce fight with their cavalry—

पारसीकास्ततो जेतुं व्रतस्थे स्थलवत्सना ।
 इन्द्रियास्थानिव रिपूस्तत्त्वज्ञानेन सयमी ॥
 यवनीमुखपद्मानां सेहे मधुमदं न स ।
 बालातपमिवाब्जानामकालजलदोदय ॥
 समामस्तुमुलस्तस्य पाश्चात्यैरश्वसाधनैः ।
 शार्ङ्गकूजितविशेषप्रतियोधे रजस्यभूत् ॥
 भल्लापवर्जितैस्तेषां शिरोभिः श्मश्रुकैर्महीम् ।
 तस्तारसरघाव्याप्तैः स क्षौद्रपटलैरिव ।
 अपनीतशिरस्त्राणां शेषास्तशरणं ययुः ।
 प्रणिपातप्रतीकारसरम्भो हि महात्मनाम् ॥

['Gainst the Persians next
 He through the desert marched, as holy men
 By sacred learning smite their inbred foes—
 The senses Scarcely could the King withstand
 Soft wiles of Yavana women, lotus faced,
 That sought his love,—as Autumn clouds must fade,
 Untimely risen, when the Sun new born

¹ Konkan (from Bombay to Goa) and Malabar

Beams bright above the lotus Fiercest war
He with the Westerns waged, in horses strong,
While twang of bows alone revealed their place
The bearded heads his warriors had cut off
Now strewed the plain, as bees swarm thickly round
The honey comb the remnant bared their heads
And claimed his mercy rage in hero souls
Submission will appease,]—P D L J

পাৰস্যেৰ বাজকুলে কবিবাবে জয়,
স্থলপথে তথা বয়ু কবিলে গমন ,
তত্ত্বজ্ঞান পথে যথা চলে যোগিজ্ঞান
কবিতো ইন্দ্ৰিয়কপ বিপুল বিজয় ।

যবনীৰ মুখপদ্ম মদবাগ ছটা
ঘুচাইলা বয়ুৰাজ যবনে বিনাশি—
অকালে ঢাকিলে সূৰ্য্য জলদেব হটা
কোটে কি বালার্ক বাগে কমলদেব হাসি ?

অশ্বপৃষ্ঠে মহাবল যবন নিকৰ
ঘুৰিলা বয়ুৰ সহ আধাৰি অশ্বৰ,
উঠিল ধূলোৰ বাশি, না চলে নয়ন,
শিকাববে শত্রু পক্ষে চিনে সেনাগণ ॥

শত শত শত্ৰু যুদ্ধ যবনেৰ শিব
ভল্লেতে কাটিয়া বয়ু পাডিলা ধবায়,
নীল অলি পৰিবৃত্ত মণ্ডুচক্ৰ প্ৰাঘ
শোভে তাহা বগস্থলে দেখিতে কচিব ।

অবশেষে স্বেচ্ছাশ্রম বসুধ চবণ
 নানাইব, শিবদ্বারা লইলা শবণ,
 বিনা প্রণিপাতে কি বা নমস্কারেণে
 মহৎ জীবন কোপ না হয় বাবণ। —৬ D

The term 'yavana' is derived from 'Ionian' and was at first applied only to the Greeks. Tin was called yavaneshtha and pepper yavanapriya, as these were imported by the Greeks from India. Later on the name 'yavana' was applied to the political successors of the Greeks in the empire of Western India—the Scythians, the Persians and the Arabs.¹ The Brahmanda Purana (49th chap—16) mentions the Yavanas as dwelling on the western and the Kiratas on the eastern boundaries of India.

We have pointed out on (p 100) that the Shahanshahi mentioned in connexion with Samudragupta refers to the Persian Emperor Shapur the Great. Therefore the Yavanas referred to by the Poet were his followers on the western frontier of India.

Then Raghu proceeded along the Sindhu (Indus) towards the north, where the vine grew, and his soldiers drowned the fatigue of the battle in the wine of grapes, and where the necks of his war horses were reddened with saffron dust.

There (on the banks of the Sindhu) Raghu encountered the Huns whom he worsted in an engagement, and thus became the cause of the sorrow of Hun women, whose husbands were slain in the fight,

and who made their cheeks red by striking them with their hands—

तत्तद्गुणावरोधाना भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥

(His mighty acts,
Wrought on their husbands, Huna dames proclaimed—
Recorded on their cheeks in angry scars) —P D L J

(हूण देश বীব গণে বধি বগস্থলে
লভিলা অতুল বশ কোশল বাজন,
পতিহীনা হুণাঙ্গনা বদন যঙলে

শোক জাত বক্ত আভা কবি আবোপণ ।)—N D

Here is a reference to Skandagupta's repulse of the Huns Kum ragupta I succeeded Chandragupta II about 415 and died about 455 He was followed in about 455 by his son Skandagupta, surnamed Kramaditya and also Vikramaditya In the latter part of his reign Kum ragupta had to encounter a host of troubles in the shape of the aggression of the Pushyamitras, and the Huns, whose atrocities instilled terror even into the hearts of the bravest The first acts of Skandagupta's reign, as noted in the undated inscription at Bhitari in the district of the Gajipur on a stone pillar of the temple of the god Ś'rngin (Vishnu), were his decisive defeat of the Pushyamitras and his arduous conflict with the Huns (see also p 50) This happened according to Mr Vincent Smith about 455 A D —

বিচলিতকুললক্ষ্মীসম্মনায়োদ্যতেন, ক্ষিতিতলশয়নীয়ে যেন নীতা স্রিয়ামা ।
সমুদিতবলকীৰ্ত্তনপুণ্যমিস্রাশ্বজিত্বা, ক্ষিতিপচরণপীঠে স্থাপিতোবামপাদ ॥

By whom, when he prepared himself to restore the fallen fortunes of (his) family, a (whole) night was spent on a couch that was the bar earth, and then having conquered the Pushyamiras who had developed great power and wealth, he placed (his) left foot which was the King (of that tribe himself) ”¹

हृणैर्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भया धरा कम्पिता ।

भीमावर्त्तकरस्य

॥

By whose two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a whirl pool, joined in close conflict with the Huns ’²

Mr K B Pathaka in his introduction to Megha duta (p VIII) refers to another reading namely बङ्गु (Vankshu), which may be substituted for सिन्धु (Sindhu) (see p 109) Vankshu he says is the same as ‘Vakshu’ or ‘Oxus’ He adds that as the Huns established their empire on the Oxus basin about 450 A D, and invaded India in 455, when they were defeated by Skandagupta, the Raghuvamsa must have been composed between 450 and 455 A D

We can neither see any reason why the reading ‘Vankshu’ should be preferred to ‘Sindhu’, nor why the adoption of the reading Vankshu and identifying it with ‘Vakshu’ or ‘Oxus’ will drive us to the conclusion that the poem was composed between 450 and 455 A D, and not to the conclusion that it was finished after Skandagupta’s most arduous and famous repulse on the Indus of the terrible barbarian

horde, the main body of which occupied the Oxus basin even as late as 518 A D, as was attested by the Chinese traveller Sungyun

The passage about the Huns must have been inserted by the poet in the fourth canto, when he resumed the composition of Raghuvamśa after Skandagupta's repulse of the Huns

Let us now resume after this digression our narrative of the conquests of Raghuvamśa which strikingly resemble those of Samudragupta, along the Himalayas, towards the east. The Kumbhoja Kings were unable to withstand his valour—

कम्बोजा समरे सोढु तस्य वीर्यमनीश्वरा ।

गजालानपरिक्लिष्टैरक्षौटे सार्धमानता ॥

तेषा सदश्वभूयिष्ठास्तुङ्गा द्रविणराशय ।

उपदा विविशु शश्वतोत्सेका कोशलेश्वरम् ॥

R V—IV 69 & 70

Akshota trees,

Bruised by the chains that bound his elephants
Bent low, bowed too Kumbhojas, fain to yield,
Before his prowess heaps of gold, fine steeds
In tribute offering, which the mighty King
Accepted graciously, and spared¹ their pride

P D L J

(না পাৰি বধুৰ তেজ সহিতে সমৰে,

নমে তাঁর পদাঙ্গে কাষোজ্জ্বল পতি,

নমিল অক্ষৌট বৃক্ষ তাহাব সহতি

যাহে বেধেছিল। বধু মাতঙ্গ নিকবে ।

1 It should be— Yet pride never entered his soul

নভিনা কাছোজে জিনি কোশল ঈশ্বর
 উপহাব স্ব বাশি, চাক অশ্ব-দল,
 অপ'ব ঐশ্বর্য তাঁব হল কবজল,
 শবদ বহিত ঢু উহাব অতব।)—N D

Where was the country of the Kambojas? I must have been the tract between the Sindhu & Indus, where saffron and grapes were produced and the Himalayas, as after exacting tribute from the Kambojas in the shape of horses and gold Ragh with his army ascended the Himalayas the abode of the father of the goddess Gauri. In this country grew Akshota (Bengali Akhrota). Probably extended from Attock to Sialkot near Gandhara (the country between Jalalabad and the Indus)¹

Samudragupta does not mention the Kamboja. But they are probably included in 'other tribes' than the Madrakas, and dwelt north of them.

Then there follows a beautiful description of the Himalayas

ततो गौरीगुरु शैलमारुरोहाश्वसाधन ।
 वधयन्निव तच्छुटानुद्धूतैर्धातुरेणुभि ॥
 द्वादश तुल्यसत्त्वाणां सैन्यघोषेऽप्यसन्नमम् ।
 गुहाशयानां सिंहाणां परिवृत्यावलोकितम् ॥
 भूर्जेषु ममोरीभूता कीचकध्वनिहेतव ।
 गङ्गाशीकरिणो मार्गे मरुतस्त सिधेविरे ॥

R V—IV 71, 72 & 73

(Famed for his horses next Him laya
 He mounted, where the clouds of dust they raised
 From trampled rocks exalted more the peaks
 Couched in their caves great lions—brave as he—
 Gazed on him undisturbed nor feared the noise
 His warriors made, while murmuring winds
that coursed
 Through Bhurja trees or rustled in the canes¹
 Moist from the waves of Gangā, cherished him
 As on he swept to conquest)

(সসৈন্তে অশ্বের গৃষ্ঠে দিলীপানন্দন
 আরাহিলা হিমালয়ে, হয় পদ ভবে
 সমুখিত ধাতু-বেণু উঠিয়া অশ্ববে,
 যেন উর্কে তুঙ্গশৃঙ্গ কবিতা বর্জন।
 সেনা সম পবাক্রম কেশরী দুর্জীব
 বয়েছে শমনে হিম-গিবিব গুহায়,
 সেনা কোলাহলে কিছু শঙ্কা নাহি পায়,
 গ্রীবা ভঙ্গে সৈন্ত পাবে চাহে একবার।
 ভাগীরথী জল কণা মাখিয়া শবোরে
 বহিল পবন যেন সেবি বধুবীবে,
 শনিছে ভূর্জের পত্র যুহু যব-যবে
 বাজিছে কীচক-বেণু সমীপে ভবে।)—N D

Then Raghu with his troops after resting for
 sometime on stones, under the shade of trees, fra-
 grant with the musk of the deer that had lain there,
 defeated the Utsavasamketas and accepted presents
 from them The Utsavasamketas were a nil tribe

consisting of seven clans or tribal republics. They are also mentioned in the Mahabharata—

गणान् उत्सवसकेतान् अजयत् सप्त पाण्डव ।

(The Pāṇḍava Arjuna, conquered the Seven Ganas of the Utsavasamketas in the course of his digvijaya ¹)

Then Raghu crossed the Brahmaputra, and reached the kingdom of Kamarupa, also called Pragjyotisha, the country of black agura trees and elephants, the king of which being afraid of his prowess and of his formidable army, readily submitted to him and gave him fiery elephants as presents and worshipped his feet. So the monarch of the same country fully carried out the imperious commands of, gave all kinds of taxes to, and performed obeisance to Samudragupta²

चकम्पे तीर्णलौहित्ये तस्मिन् प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वर ।

तद्गजालनता प्राप्तौ सह कालागुरुद्रुमै ॥

न प्रसेहे स रत्नार्कमधारावर्षाद्दिनम् ।

रथवर्त्मरजोऽप्यस्य कुत एव पताकिनीम् ॥

तमीश कामरूपाणा अतयाखण्डलविक्रमम् ।

मेजे भिन्नकटैर्नीगैरनयान् उपरुधेयै ॥

कामरूपेश्वरस्तस्य हेमपीठाभिदेवताम् ।

रत्नपुष्पोपहारेण स्थायामानर्च्य पादयो ॥

R V —IV 81 to 84

1 Mahabharata, Sabhaparva Chap 27th

2 C I—1

(He traversed next
 Lauhitya, and Priggyotish quaked , as shook
 Black aloes where he bound his elephants
 Scarce could he bear with Raghu's chariot's dust,
 Which veiled the Sun and darkened all the sky
 Yet brought no rain , how then should he with
 stand
 The aimed host ? Him Kamarupa's King
 Served with his elephants, those mighty beasts
 Love maddened, which he used to smite his foes,
 And gems for flowers he offered at those feet,
 Which —laid on golden foot stools—shone divine)
 P D L J

(পাব হইলো বধু লৌহিত্যা তটিনী,
 ভয়েতে কাঁপিল প্রাগ জ্যোতিষ-ঈশ্বৰ
 কাপিল ভেমতি কৃষ্ণাঙ্ক তৰু-শ্রেণী,
 ষাহে বেবেছিলা বধু কুঞ্জৰ নিকৰ ।

সেনাপদভবে ধূলি ঢাকিল তপন
 মেঘমালা প্রায় বিনা বাবি ববিষণ,
 দেখি ভয়ে ত্রস্ত সেই দোণব ঈশ্বৰ,
 কি সাধ্য সেনাব সহ কবিতে সমব ?

কামৰূপ অধীশ্বৰ মত্ত কবি চয়ে
 আক্ৰ মন অন্য বাজে তুমুল সমবে
 হেন গজ দানে আজি পূজিলা সত্তয়ে
 বাসব বিজয়ী বীর বধুবাজেশ্বৰে ।

বসিলেন বধুবীর হববিত মনে
 স্তবৰ্ণ আসনোপবি , চবণে তাঁহাব

বহুবল পুষ্কাকাপ দিয়া উপহ ব

পুষ্ক কামকপ বাত পৰা বজান।)— ১ ১

Raghu like Samudragupta after his conquest of the eastern, southern western and northern countries returned to his capital Raghu to perform his Visvajit (world conquest) sacrifice, and Samudragupta to celebrate his conquests by the revival of Asvamedha, a sacrifice which had gone out of use for centuries on account of foreign domination, the absence of powerful Hindu sovereigns and the rise of Buddhism

M M H P S stri refers to an incident of Skandagupta's reign from which he tries to deduce the date of the Poet—

“In the Kumārasambhava Kalidasa describes the condition of lotuses in a reservoir of water, when its embankment fails In Bengal tanks are made by excavation, but in countries where there are many plateaux, vast reservoirs of water are often formed by throwing up an embankment on one side, when the other sides are formed by highlands There is a historical reservoir of this kind at Girnar The embankment was thrown up by a nephew of Chandragupta Maurya in the 4th century B C That embankment gave way in about 150 A D , and it was repaired by the S'aka King Rudradamana, but it gave way again in 475 A D , and was repaired by an officer of the Gupta Emperor The affair made a deep impression on the people of Gujrat and

Malwa, and Kalidasa describes the same in a simile in the Kumarasambhavam. It was most likely a recent event when Kalidasa described it.”¹ The writer probably refers to the following verse of the Kumarasambhavam,—

क्व नु मा त्वदधीनजीविता, विनिकीर्य क्षणमिदमसौहृद ।

नलिनी क्षতसेतुबन्धनো, জলস্রোতঃ প্রবাসি বিদ্রুত ॥ (IV—6)

(As a Mass of Water rushes through the broken embankment leaving its Beloved Lotus alone, so where have you hastily departed breaking the ties of love in a moment and leaving alone one whose life depends on yours?—So laments Ratī for her dead husband)

(তবাবীন মা প্রাণ, কোথা গেলে বেথে প্রাণ,

তব স্নেহশূন্য কবি ক্ষণে ?

সেতুভঙ্গে বাহ নীব, হয় যথা নবীনীব,

প্রাণাকুল জীবন বিহনে ॥ (R L B)

As there are numerous references to tanks full of lotuses in the works (see also chapter VIII) of the Poet—still there is a tank full of lotuses near the temple of Mahākālā at Ujjayinī—and as the breaking of the embankment in the rainy season was a common occurrence in his time, there is no reason to believe that the poet refers to any particular incident. Moreover the repair of the dam of the Sudarsāna lake at Girnar or Girinagar (Junagadh in Kathiawar) was effected in 456—57 A. D. (Gupta Era 137) by Chakrapalita, son of Parnadatta, who

was appointed by Skandagupta to govern Surishtra or the Kathiawar country ¹

As there are some important points of resemblance between Raghu and Samudragupta, between the king of Magadha and Chandragupta II, between Ajata and Kumragupta I, so there is again some agreement between Kusá, the son of Rama and Kumragupta I, and between Atithi the son of Kusá, and Skandagupta, and between the installation of Kumragupta as Yuvaraja and that of Ajus, son of Pururavas in Vikramaditya. In this connexion we should bear in mind that Raghu is the poet's ideal king, and under the portraiture of Raghu, he really depicts Chandragupta (II) Vikramaditya, his first patron. He ascribes to him not only the military achievements of Samudragupta, but also those which are Chandragupta's own, *e.g.* the conquest of Malwa and Surishtra and the annihilation of the Scythian supremacy,² for which he earned the name of Parantapa (enemy-chastiser, R V — VI — 21) Raghu proceeds by the land route from Aparanta (say Poona) to the country of the Yavanas (say Beluchistan and NW Frontier Province) The intermediate provinces Malwa, Surishtra &c are regarded as being already in the dominions of Raghu. As the Raghu vamsá was finished in the reign of Skandagupta we find the Poets attributing to his royal favourite

I C I — 14

I He put an end to the domination in India of the Scythians or Sakas (called Sakai both by Herodotus and Megasthenes) see M A I p 29

even Skandagupta's repulse of the Huns The Poet also compares Samudragupta, the first great Gupta Emperor and reviver of Asvamedha sacrifice with Dilipa, the first great emperor of the dynasty (in which Raghu and Ramachandra are born) and the performer of ninety nine Asvamedhas

The first two cantos of Raghuvamsam are devoted by the Poet to the description of the virtues and meritorious acts of Dilipa or Samudragupta Dilipa is described as the first great sovereign of the solar dynasty His chest is broad and full, his shoulders are like those of a bull, his height like that of a sala tree, and his arms long, and he is noted for his strength and valour His intellect is as powerful as his body is muscular and strong He is endowed also with softer graces It is for the welfare of his subjects alone that he collects taxes He is the master of various branches of learning (Samudragupta was also a poet and a musician) No other prince after Dilipa is able to rival him in the art of government The sea beach forms the ramparts of his kingdom, and the high seas its moats, and he rules his vast dominions like a single city (R V 1 30) He has performed nintynine Asvamedhas, and wants to celebrate the hundreth and be like Indra So Samudragupta is described in several inscriptions of the Gupta period— 'who had no antagonist in the world, whose fame was tasted by the waters (of the four oceans), who was the restorer of the Asvamedha sacrifice that had been long in abeyance' He struck gold medals bearing a suitable legend and the figure of the doomed horse

There is a stone figure of such a horse in the Lucknow Museum According to Pandit Rāmapatara Sarmā, Samudragupta married Dattadevī, who was the daughter of a Magadha Prince So does Dilipa marry Sudakṣha, who is a Magadha Princess The Pandit further says that 'datt' and 'dakṣha' mean almost the same thing ¹

There cannot be any comparison between Rāmachandra, the incarnation of Viṣṇu, and any Gupta Sovereign, nor is the Poet able to compare any Gupta Sovereign with Daśaratha, in the description of whose reign, he has to follow Viṣṇu faithfully But there are some points of resemblance between Aja (Raghu's son) and Kumāragupta (Chandragupta II's son) There is probably a reference to Kumāragupta's viceroyalty at Ujjaini during his father's life time in the songs of Aja's heralds (see chap VI) which appear to be as unnecessary as the introduction of Aśvās and his accession (in the Vikramoṃśas), and also in the verse—

असौ कुमारस्तमनुजातस्त्रिविष्टपस्येव पति जयन्त ।

गुर्वी धुर यो भुवनस्य पिता धुर्येण दम्य सहस्र विभक्ति ॥

R V —VI-78

(From his kingly loins

Prince Aja sprang, as fair Jayanta sprang
From Indra Now this Prince bears half the weight
Of that high charge his sire erst bore alone
Unwearied, as a mighty bull calf bears

One half the yoke—

(PDLJ)

¹ Quoted by Pandit Dvivedi in his Kalidasa

(তাঁহাব ঢুজ এই অজ দীবব
ইজ্জব জয়ন্ত জিনি কাপ মনোহব,
পিতৃসহ সমভাবে বহেন কুণাব
এ নব বাস গুরু পৃথিবীর ভাব। —N D)

Aja resembles his father Raghu in many important respects (R V— V—37) Chandragupta is the old Moon and Kumaragupta the new Moon (R V—VI 22 and VI 31) He is 'দ্বিষদ্মি হু'মসহ' formidable to his enemy, as his father is 'পরন্তব' (the repressor) — R V VI 31 and 21 The fact is that the Poet does not miss any opportunity of extolling his royal patrons

Kum ragi p'ta in the latter part of his reign suffered much on account of the aggression of the Pushyamitras and the Huns Kus'a being requested by Indra wert to wage war with a demon He fell fighting with his enemy¹ Kum ragupta might have lost his life in either of the battles he fought

There is a reference in Kalidasa to Kus'a's transferring his capital from Kusavati (somewhere near Ujjayini) to Ayodhya, after entrusting the administration of Kusavati to his Brahman ministers² After marching over the Vindhya and crossing the Ganges Kus'a came to Ayodhya on the banks of the Sarayu We see that Skandagupta's first inscription was found in a column at Bhitari in Guptaia Kumaragupta in the latter part of his reign when his capital was threatened by the Pushyamitras and the Huns, might have transferred his capital from Ujjayini to Ayodhya Kalidasa justifies Kus'a's leaving Kusavati and

coming to Ayodhya by saying that he does so in accordance with the request of the presiding deity (अधिदेवता) of Ayodhya. Skandagupta, we know from the Junagadh inscription, appointed Paradatya as the governor of the province of Surashtra or more properly the tract which belonged to the Western Kshatrapas.

Aja marries a Vidarbha princess. Probably the reference here is to Kumāragupta's marrying the daughter of a Kadamba King. The Andhras ruled the Deccan for four centuries and a half up to about 220 A.D. The Kadambas may have succeeded the Andhras and ruled the Deccan till 545 A.D.¹ Kalidasa may have acted as a Ghataka or marriage ambassador in negotiating this marriage. Rev. H. Heras S.J., M.A., writes² — 'In the Sanskrit work *Śringaraprakāśikā*, the poet Bhoja relates that the great poet Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador of king Vikramāditya to a Kuntala king. Mr. K. B. Ayyar has already identified the Vikramāditya of this passage with Chandragupta II. The Kuntala king was the Kadamba king Bhagiratha. The *Auchityavicharacarcha* of Hemachandra refers also to this embassy. Chandragupta married his daughter Prabhavātigupta to the Vakataka King Rudrasena II. Another marriage was proposed to the Kadamba king through Chandragupta's ambassador Kalidasa. The Talagunda inscription of Kikusthavarma seems to point

1 E. H. I.—pp. 439-40

2 J. B. O. R. S.—Dec., 1926

to the same auspicious event. It is there said that this king by means of his daughter's marriage 'raised up the family of the Guptas'. This sounds like a favour done to the king by the Kadamba king, probably because the Kadamba kings were Brahmins, and the Guptas if they were not Vaisyas, were in all likelihood Kshatriyas. Now this southern Princess might be Anantadevi, the mother of Puragupta.

Genius', it has been said, 'is of no country'. Another great poet in another land condescended to become a matchmaker in an humbler sphere of life. 'William Shakespeare of Stratford on Avon, Gent' united in marriage Stephen Bellott and Mary Mountjoy, his employer's daughter in 1604, as states the Calcutta Englishman of the 23rd May, 1927.

Kumāragupta is compared to Kusā, the son of Rāmachandra, as he has been compared to Aja, the son of Raghu. He marries Kumudvatī, a Nāga Princess the issue of which is Atithi. Unlike the marriage of Aja (Kumāragupta) with Indumatī (Anantadevi) which enhanced the glory of the Gupta Dynasty, the marriage of Kusā (Kumāragupta) after his suppression of the Nāgas, with Kumudvatī, the Nāga princess (R V XVI 86) who became Atithi's or Skandagupta's mother, lowered it in public esteem. This was the reason why Skandagupta refrained deliberately in the Bhitari inscription from mentioning the name of his mother. Skandagupta most probably had to wage a war with the Nāgas, as appears from the following—

नरपतिभुजगाना मानदर्पीतृणामाम् प्रतिकृतिगद्गद्वाशा (म) निर्व्वि-

वीज्जावकर्त्ता—‘the king who plucked (and utilised) the authority of (his local representatives who were so many Gerudas, (and used it as) an article against the (hostile) kings who were so many serpents, lifting their hoods in pride and arrogance’¹ According to the compiler of *Vishvakosha*, seven Naga kings reigned at Mathura and were succeeded by the Gupta. Kiva suppressed by Krishna might be a Naga potentate. So the Nagas appear to have been Scythians. Nine Naga kings are said to have reigned in the first and second centuries A.D. in Central India with their capital at Naravara (or Narapura associated with Nala and Damayanti) or Padmavati (Padampawaya— the scene of Bhavabhuti’s *Malati Madhava*). Of these Gana patinaga is mentioned in Samudragupta’s Allahabad inscription and in the former’s minted coins, some of which are extant. The coins of the Naga Kings of Ramagarh and Surguja bear figures of serpents.

Kumaragupta was styled Mahendri Jitya and in the Junagadh inscription he is described as having attained companionship of gods (सुरसखित्वम्).² Kalidasa says with reference to Kusana *दिवस्पतेरासीत् सिंहासनाद्धभाक्* or after his death Kusana began to occupy half of Indra’s throne. As mentioned above (see p 69) Kumaragupta might have been killed in his war with the Pushyamitras. After his victory over the Pushyamitras Skandagupta betook himself to his mother, whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Krishna, when he had slain his enemies, betook himself to his

mother Devakī.¹ This is significant—Krishna went to Devakī after killing Kamsa, who had persecuted his parents. Skandagupta went to his mother after defeating his father's persecutors.

In the Bhitari stone pillar inscription Skandagupta is described as *conquering* the Pushyamitras and as *shaking the earth with his two hands in the act of his encounter* with the Huns in a fight (see p 111). There is no definite mention of his defeating the Huns. Probably it was a drawn battle, and a treaty might have been concluded with them for the time being. The absence of any accurate information regarding the latter part of Skandagupta's reign and the Eran stone board inscription of Toramana (see p 53) lead us to the conclusion that in the closing years of his reign and during the rule of his successor, Budhagupta, a large portion of his northern and northwestern territories came into the possession of the Huns. Mr Vincent Smith also says, "A little later about 470 A.D., the Huns advanced into the interior and again attacked Skandagupta in the heart of his dominions. He was unable to continue the successful resistance which he had offered in the earlier days of his rule."

The financial distress of Skandagupta's administration is plainly indicated by the abrupt debasement of the coinage in his latter years.²

Kaśā's son, Atithi, is described in the 17th canto of the Raghuvamśam as placing his foot on the crowns of other kings, just as Skandagupta made the king of the Pushyamitras his footstool.³—

1 C I—13 2 E H I—328

3 क्षितिप चरण पीठे स्थापितो वामपाद —C I-13

वितानसहित तत्र भेजे पैतृकमासनम् ।

चूडामणिभिरुद्वृष्टपादपीठ महीक्षिताम् ॥ R V \ \ II —28

[G orious then he sat
Upon his Father's throne, well canopied,
Before whose footstool kings were wont to lay
Their jewelled crowns] P D L J

সভায় অতিথি এবং কবিতা গমন,
আবোধেন সবিস্তার পৈতৃক আসন ।
পাদপীঠে বাহাব সামন্ত নৃগণ,
নিজ নিজ চূড়ামণি কবেন ঘষণ ॥

Skandagupta's regal glory extends to the limits of the four oceans—*পৃথুশ্রী অনুরূধিজনলান্তাম্*, ¹ Atithi's valour—*अस्य वेदान्त पूताप*—extends to the sea-coast (R V—XVII—37)

Atithi goes to war with only those, who are weaker than he and whom he can easily defeat —

शक्येष्वेवाभवद् यान्ता तस्य शक्तिमत सत ।
समीरणसहायोऽपि नाम्न प्रार्थी दवानल ॥

R V—XVII—36

(Only foes
Of equal might that valiant, powerful King,
Made war upon So forest-fires, though urged,
By rushing winds, attack not running streams)
P D L J

(যুদ্ধেন তা দেব সহ নৃপ শক্তিমান
বাহাদব পবাক্ষিতে তিনি বলবান ।

স্বীকৃত সত্য হ'লেও দাবানল,

বধনও না যায় সেথা যেথা আছে জল ॥)

Here is Kalidasa's justification of Atithi's not fighting a decisive battle with a powerful enemy. The Poet after a few lines reverts to the same theme and says—

পরাত্মনো পরিচ্ছিন্ন হস্তগাদীনা বলাবলম্ ।

যযাবমির্নালিষ্টহবেত্ পরস্বাদাস্ত সৌনয়না ॥

R V—XVII—59

(His foemen's strength

Or weakness well he pondered and his own

For strength or wealth,—if his the better part,

Assailing boldly—else he abode attack)—P D L J

[পবীক্ষিতা বলাবল নিজেব পরেব,

কবিত্তন আয়োজন নূপ সমবেব ।

বুঝিত্তন যদি তিনি নিজে বলীযান,

না হলে সমবে কতু নহে আশুয়ান ॥]

What is the necessity for this repetition? Kalidasa does not lay down such a maxim regarding any other king of Raghu's line. Skandagupta's Fabian policy regarding his terrible enemy, the Huns, is vindicated by the court poet. The fortyseventh verse of the seventeenth canto of Raghuvamsam, where the poet says that Atithi does not depend merely on his diplomacy, as mere valour is beastly, supports this contention. If the sixtieth verse of the same canto is read along with the fifty-ninth quoted above, the Poet's reference to the increase of Atithi's power on account of the fullness of his treasury, seems to indicate his readiness for winning over a formidable

able foe by means of his wealth. In the Bhitari inscription bards are described as raising Skandagupta 'to distinction with (their) songs and praises'¹ Kalidasa might have been the most prominent of them. It appears that even if Kalidasa did not compose the Bhitari inscription (CI-13), the composer was probably acquainted with the Poet's *Raghuvamsam*—वरितममलकीर्तैर्गीयते यस्य शुभ्रम दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारमनुजैः—the white or pure character and spotless fame of whom from whose childhood up to the present time is sung by contented men. This reminds us of Kalidasa's *आकुमारकथोद्घात* (see p 133). Again the introduction of Dhanada or Kuvera, Indra, Varuna and Yama in connexion with Atithi's administration (R V—VII—80&81) reminds us of the mention of these deities in the inscriptions of this period. In the Junagadh inscription, which is of his Viceroy Parnadatta, there is amidst some evident exaggeration which is naturally expected from a subordinate, a mention of Skandagupta's humiliating the Mlechchhas. These were probably the Pushyamitras whom Mr V Smith regards as 'apparently foreigners'². The Huns are not mentioned at all. Skandagupta is described in the Bhitari inscription as going to his mother after his victory over the Pushyamitras for telling her that he has defeated and humiliated the insolent enemy, in the war with whom his father may have lost his life. Kumaragupta is mentioned by Skandagupta not as 'the exterminator of kings' like

1 C I no 14

2 E H I—p 326 note

Samudragupta and 'not having an antagonist equal to him in power' like Chandragupta II, but simply as 'glorious and renowned for the innate power of his mighty intellect' Chandragupta II mentioned in his inscription (C I no 4) Kumāradevī as the mother of Samudragupta and Dattadevī as his own mother. The inscription (C I no 10) of the reign of Kumāragupta I not only mentions Kumāradevī and Dattadevī but also the name of Kumāragupta's mother as Dhruvadevī. But Skandagupta in his own inscription (C I no 13) though mentioning the names of Mahadevī, Kumāradevī, Mahadevī, Dattadevī and Mahadevī, Dhruvadevī, refrained, we think deliberately, from giving the name of his own mother, firstly because she was not the chief queen or Mahadevī, secondly because she was a Nāga Princess (see p 124), and thirdly because she had not the honour of becoming a *sati*. Anantadevī was probably the chief queen and her son Puragupta the lawful heir as the Bhitarī seal (see p 68) says

As the two inscriptions describe the various virtues and accomplishments of Skandagupta, so Kalidasa also is eloquent in praise of Atithi's merits. Atithi restores to their dominions the princes he conquered—

यद्वाच न तन्मिथया यद्दौ न जहार तत् ।

सोऽभूद्भग्नघ्नः शत्रुजुहूः प्रतियोषयन् ॥

R V —XVII—42

(Not a word untrue

E'er passed his lips, no gift was e'er sought back,—

Not e'er his word recalled—save only when

He pardoned and restored a humbled foe)—P D L J

(অমৃত না হয় কভু অতিথি বচন
দত্ত বস্ত্র কভু পুন না হয় গ্রহণ ।
জিত বাজ্য প্রত্যর্পণ হয় ব্যতিক্রম,
অত্রই অবিলম্বিত রাজ্য নিয়ম ॥)

So Skandagupta showed mercy to the conquered who were in distress *জিতেষু মার্জেষু কৃতা দয়াম* ¹

Skanda is a name of Shadānana or the six mouthed Kartikeya, the God of War. Atithi is compared by K lidasa to Shadānana—

স গুণানা বহানা চ বর্ণা বস্তুস্ববিক্রম ।

বস্তু বিনিয়োগস্ত সাধনীয়েষু বস্তুষু ॥ R V — XVII 67

(He, whose prowess was like that of Kartikeya, knew how to utilise the six political expedients, as well as the six kinds of forces towards objects that were to be secured)²

(বিক্রমে অজের এই অতিথি রাজন,
উদ্যোগ তুলনা এক বীর যজানন ।
অসাধ্য বিষয়ে ছয় বল ছয় গুণ,
প্রয়োগিতে নৃপমণি সর্বদা নিপুণ ॥)

Skandagupta's politic conduct is also referred to in the Bhitari Stone pillar inscription

The chief queen, Anantadevi, mother of Puragupta, the eldest son and lawful heir (see p 69), might have burnt herself after her husband's death on the funeral pyre, as Kumudvati, mother of Atithi, does after her

¹ C I — 13

² Translated by G R Nandargikar

husband Kusá has been killed in his fight with a demon. But the mother of Skandagupta might have been dissuaded by him from following suit. To console his mother for the lamented death of his father, and also to show to his people his devotion to him, he installed, as the Bhitari inscription says, the god Śrīngin or Vishnu 'to increase the religious merit of his father (पितु पुण्याभिवृद्धये)'¹

From the above it will appear that there are some important points of resemblance between Kusá and Kumāragupta, and between Atithi and Skandagupta.

As Dr Keith says, Kālidāsa shows little fondness for the use of slesha or double entendre². Hence when he introduces puns, he, it may be taken for granted, does it with a purpose. Dilīpa with his queen comes to the hermitage of Vasīshtha, whose disciples welcome the royal pair—

तस्मै सभ्या सभाचार्याय गोप्ते गुप्तमेन्द्रिया ।

अह्णामहंते चक्रमुनयो नयचक्षुषे ॥ R V—155

(The courteous anchorites noted for their self control received with due honour their learned protector (Dilīpa) and his wife). Here 'goptre' and 'gupta' may refer to the Guptas. Dilīpa and the other members of his family are स्ववीर्यगुप्ता or able to protect themselves by their own prowess (R V -II 4).

Again the expression — गोप्ता गृहिणीसहाय or 'the protector with his wife' is used with reference to

¹ C I—13

² C S L p 48

Dilipa and his queen, when they tend Vasishtha's cow (R V—II 24) The word (गोप्ता) gopta may refer to the reigning Gupta King

Raghu's glory is being sung from his childhood by rustic women, who being seated in the sugar cane shade, guard their cornfields—

इच्छुष्यानिषादिनरस्तस्य गोप्तुर्गोदयम् ।

आकुमारकयोद्धात शालिगोप्योजगुर्यश ॥

(R V—IV 20)

Here 'goptuh' may refer to the Guptas (See also p 129)

“स गुप्तमूलप्रतपन्त”¹ means 'he (Raghu) who has made arrangements for defending the places near his capital and also those lying on the boundaries of his kingdom Here we find in 'gupta' a reference to the reigning Gupta king

Mr H N De² says 'The personal name of Kuma-ragupta (I) was Chandraprakasā (the radiant moon) —a fact alluded to in—

राजापि लेभे सुतमाशु तस्मात्

अलोकमर्कादिव जीवलोक ।

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते किल तस्य देवी

कुमारकस्य सुषुवे कुमारम् ॥

रूप तदोजसि तदेव वीर्य

तदेव नैसर्गिकमुन्नतत्वम् ।

¹ R V—IV—26

² Introduction to Kalidasa by Pandit R Vidyabhushan

न कारणात् स्वाद्विभिदे कुमार

प्रवर्त्तितोदीपइव प्रदीपात् ॥ R V — V 31 to 37

(As the living world receives light from the sun, so the king got a son from the blessing of the hermit At an auspicious moment his queen gave birth to a Kumāra (Prince Aja or Kumāragupta I), who was like Kum ra (Kārtikeya) The courage, beauty, valour and natural dignity of the Kumāra or prince did not differ from those of his source (father Raghu or Chandragupta II), as a lamp does not from that from which it is lighted) This was just as Kautsa had predicted in his blessing of Raghu—पुत्र पितेव (R V — V 34)—‘May you obtain a son as praise worthy as you have been of your father’ By this means the poet praises Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I

The word Samudra in आसमुद्रमितिज्ञाना (R V — 15) may refer to Samudragupta, the ‘Napoleon of India’, who converted by his conquests the petty kingdom of his father into a powerful and extensive empire So the expression may also mean ‘of the Gupta Dynasty whose empire has begun since the reign of Samudragupta’

Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (vikrama or valour + āditya or the sun) may have been referred to in the following—

प्रतापस्तस्य भानोज्ञ युगपद्भ्रान्तो दिश — (R V — IV 15)

(The valour of Raghu and the Sun spread in all directions)

His *vikrama* or *valour* may have also been alluded to in—

मत्तेभरदनोत्कीर्ण्यत्तविक्रमलक्षणम् — (R V —II 59)

(The *vikrama* or *valour* of *Raghu* was engraved in letters, as it were, on the *Trikuta* hill by the tusks of his infuriated war elephants)

At the end of *Malavikāgnimitram* there is a strange *Bharata vākya*m or prayer—

आशास्यमभ्यधिगमात् प्रभृति प्रजाना,
सम्पद्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्निमित्ते ।

(Since the accession of the *Gopta* or protector *Agni-mitra*, all the desires of his subjects have been gratified) This '*Gopta*' may refer to *Chandragupta II*, the Poet's first patron before whose court the drama was enacted

'*Gopt* rather its derivative *गोप्तरि* occurs also in (R V —II—14) In the following passage there may be references to *Samudragupta* and *Chandragupta II*—

निवातपद्मस्तिमितेन चक्षुषा
नृपस्य कान्तं पिबत सुताननम् ।
महोदधे पूरुहवेन्दुदर्शनात्

गुरुं प्रहर्षं प्रबभूव नात्मनि ॥ R V —III-77)

(With steady eye, like lotus in still lake
The king devoured his son's fair face with joy
So great, it burst all bounds, as ocean's tide
At fulness of the moon)—P D L J

(অসপ্ন ইন্দীবব নিভ ছন্দঃ)

পাত্রব সূচক্ৰমুখ ভেবিল বাজন

অপাব আনন্দ তাব না ধাব অন্তবে,

বধা হাব পূর্ণিম ব বিধু দবদান

সুখর বিহবাল সিদ্ধ হব নিয়গন,

দুর্দম সন্নিলাচ্ছাস উছলিয়া পড়ে ।)— N D

Here Di'ipa or Samudragupta may have been compared to the ocean (samudra) and his son Raghu or Chandragupta to the moon

Chandragupta (or Raghu) (may have been alluded to in *বালচন্দ্রমা* or the young moon (R V—III-22), in *বিশদগমে চন্দ্রে* or the pure rayed moon (IV—18), in *হমোভুদ* (III 33) or the moon or the remover of darkness, *হিমাশো* (of the moon) in R V — V—16 in *দ্বিজরাজকান্তি* or one radiant like the moon, (V—23) in *দিগন্ত বিলম্বীচন্দ্র* or the setting moon before his son's accession (V 67), in the reference by Aus'inari (Pururava's Chief Queen) to the junction between Chandra and Rohini and her maid's reply that the union of the Chief Queen with the King will be equally beautiful (V -V—III 63 & 64) There may be a reference to Chandragupta's suzerainty in the following expression of Pururava's delight on account of his being able to win Urvasi's love—

সামন্তমৌলিমণিরঞ্জিত পাদপীঠমেকাপসমবনেন তথা প্রসুত্বম্ ।

মত্যা সন্তে । চরণযোরহমঘ কান্তমাশাকরত্বমধিগম্য যথা কৃতার্থ ॥

V V—III 129

(সামন্ত মুকুট-মণিব প্রভার,

যোর পাদ পীঠ শোভে ।

একছত্র প্রভু িখিল ধনায়,
মানব জানায় সবে ॥
অবনী-গাথাব হায় বহনীব,
হইনাই স্বধী এত,
লভে ও পদেব আজ্ঞা বমণীয়,
হইয়াছি তুষ্ট বত ॥)

Kumaragupta (or Aja) may also have been referred to in ময়ূরদ্ব্যগ্ৰযিণাগুহে in or 'like Kartikeya on the back of a peacock', when Aja is described as being seated on a throne in the Svayamvara Sabha (R V —\ 14) There may be a reference to his viceroyalty at Ujjain during his father's life time—Aja bearing the heavy burden of the world equally with his father in VI 78 The word Kumara is significant in VI—3 and 80, so also Kartikeya or Skanda in VIII 1 and Kumara in VII-16, 61 and 63

In the latter part of the first Act of Vikramorvasī, the word *vikrama* is used with reference to Pururavā twice in quick succession It may refer to Vikramaditya (Chandragupta II) Chitraratha says to him after he has rescued Urvasī—

দ্বিষ্টা মহোপকারপাশ্চেন বিক্রমমহিম্না বহুসে (V V —I-71)

(Fortunately you have rendered yourself glorious by performing a very beneficent deed with the greatness of your *vikrama* or valour) A few lines below, the king says that he does not deserve any praise for what he has done—that his success has been due to Indra's favour Chitraratha replies যুক্ত, মনুত্বক্য বহু

विक्रमालङ्कार (This is proper, for disregard of praise or modesty is the ornament of *vikrama*, i.e., (valour or a valiant man)

Such veiled allusions are not uncommon in Sanskrit Literature. In the first act of *Mudrarakshasam*, a similar double entendre¹ refers to the conspiracy of of the diplomat Rakshasa with the foreign king Malayaketu (who is like Ketu) against Chandragupta Maurya (who is like the Moon), which will be foiled by the policy of the tactful Chanakya or Kautilya (who is like the planet Budha)—

कूरग्रह स केतुश्चन्द्रमसः पूर्णमण्डलमिदानीम् ।¹

अभिभवितुमिच्छति बलात्—रक्षत्येन तु बुधयोगः ॥

Much importance should not, however, be attached to these isolated puns. If they were the only evidence of the Poet's connexion with the Guptas, they might safely be rejected. But when they are considered along with other items of evidence, they become significant. Nor should we think that whenever for instance, *chandra* and *samudra* or their equivalents are present, Chandragupta and Samudragupta are being referred to. The instances must be striking. The moon and the ocean are the stock objects of comparison in Sanskrit Literature.

Dakshinavarta Natha (who flourished in the 12th Century A D) and Mallinatha (who flourished in the 14th Century)² in their commentaries on the *Meghaduta*, found a reference to Nichula and Dig-naga or

Dinn ga, two contemporaries of Kalidasa in the following stanza of this lyric—

অদ্রে শৃঙ্গ হরতি পবন কিম্বিদিত্যুমুখীমি
হৃৎটোত্সাহশ্চকিতচকিত মুগ্ধসিদ্ধাগানামি ।
স্থানাদস্মাত্সরসনিভুলোদ্যতোদঙ্মুখ
দিঙ্নাগানা পথি পরিহরন্থূলহস্মাবলোপান্ ॥

(V D —I 14)

(ত্যজি এ সবস বেতাসব বন,
উঠিয়া উত্তবে এখান হতে,
যাও দিগ্গজেব কবিয়া হবণ
স্থূল শুণ্ড গর্ভ, বিমান পথ
'গিবি শৃঙ্গ কিবা উড়িছে পবান ।'
ভাবিয়া মনেতে বিষয়ে ভুলি,
মুগ্ধ সিদ্ধ নারী চকিত নয়নে,
ভেবিলে জোমায় বদন তুলি ।)—B C M

(From this place full of wet canes, rise into the sky with thy face directed to the north, avoiding on the way contact with the massive trunks of the quarter elephants thy movements being watched by the ignorant wives of the siddhas (demigods), who with uplifted faces will wonder whether the wind is carrying away the crest of a mountain)

Or

(From this place where stands thy (friend) Nichula versed in poetic sentiments, ascend, O Muse, (the heaven of invention), holding up thy head, and avoid-

ing in the course of thy journey the glaring mistakes committed by the hands of authors like Dinnaga, while thy flight is admired by good poets and fair women filled with surprise and looking upwards, as if the superiority of the mighty Dinnaga (अद्रे शृङ्ग) were eclipsed by thee)

As regards Nichula, nothing more is known than what is supplied by Mallinatha, viz, 'निबुलो नाम महाकवि कालिदासस्य सहाभ्याय'—the great poet Nichula who was Kundasa's fellow student Dignaga, a famous Buddhist logician, author of *Pramāṇa Samuccaya*, is mentioned by Mallinatha as Kalidasa's opponent Dignaga was the pupil of the Buddhist Patriarch (Bodhisatva) of the name of Vasubandhu, author of *Abhidharmakosha-sāstra* written to refute the errors of the *Vaiśhashikas*, who was born in Gandhara and who taught at Sravasti (Sahet-mahet in Oudh) Vasubandhu was the pupil of Manoratha, who was a native of Gandhāra, 'a master of s āstras and author *Vibhāṣa Śāstra*'¹ 'This learned doctor (i.e. Manoratha) flourished in the midst of the thousand years after the nirvana of Buddha'² At that time Vikramaditya, king of the country Sravasti, was of widerenown His charity was extensive But he became jealous of Manoratha who gave his barber 'a lakh of gold' for shaving his head So the king wanted to humiliate Manoratha There was a logical disputation between the S raman Manoratha and the Hindu Pandits of the court of Vikramaditya Manoratha proposed the subject of fire and smoke The Hindu

Pandits cried out simultaneously that the Buddhist Disputant ought to have mentioned smoke first and then fire, and declared that he was beaten. Manoratha bit out his tongue, and writing to Vasubandhu "In the multitude of partisans there is no justice, among persons deceived there is no discernment," he died.

Now this Vikramaditya was probably Chandragupta II, who had his court at Sāketa or Ayodhya, near Sravastī before his conquest of the Western Kshatrapas, which must have happened before the Udayagiri inscription of 401/2 A D and after 388 A D, because no Kshatrapa coins bearing a later date have been found. He was an orthodox Vaishnava—his Mathurā and Gadhwā inscriptions style him as Paramabhagavata—and was to some extent hostile to the Buddhās¹

One of Vasubandhu's works was translated into Chinese in 404 A D and another about 405 A D. So Vasubandhu must have flourished earlier than 404 A D. If Vasubandhu had lived up to his eightieth year as Mr. V. Smith says², he might have been a contemporary of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. He might have died before Chandragupta II's conquest of western India about 390 A D. There is nothing absurd in his being a pupil of Manoratha and his being younger than his preceptor by a few years. As Dignāga was Vasubandhu's pupil, we can

1 P H I pp 61-2

2 E H I p 347

easily imagine him to be a contemporary of his opponents Nichula and Kalidasa, the poets of the court of Chandragupta II, when he transferred it to Ujjayini after his conquest of Malwa and Surashtra. The absence however, of any poet of the name of Nichula as the contemporary of Kalidasa and the straining of the meaning of the passage by Dakshinavartanatha and Mallinatha to establish Kalidasa's reference to Dignaga, the Buddhist author, and the Poet's tolerance towards the Buddhists, as is evident from all his works, are strong proofs against this theory of the commentators.

Though Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription contains some hyperbole, yet there can be no doubt that much of it is true. Otherwise his achievements would not be praised in almost all the inscriptions of the Gupta Monarchs. The close resemblance between Raghu's and Samudragupta's conquests is a strong evidence of the Poet's connexion with the Guptas.

It will not be expedient to seek for any uniform consistency in the comparison between Samudragupta and Dilipa, between Chandragupta II and Raghu, between Kumaragupta I and Aja, between Kumaragupta I and Kusá¹ and between Skandagupta and Atithi, the reason being that the immediate object of the Poet is to compose an Epic embodying the achievements of the dynasty in which the Great God Vishnu has been born—the subject-

1 The installation of Kumaragupta is described under the semblance of the inauguration of Aýus in the last Act of the *Vikramorvasí*.

matter of Ramayana and some other Puranas. What is to be remembered is that the Poet has availed himself of every opportunity to eulogise and exalt the line of his royal patrons.

Chapter IV

The Centre of the Poet's Activities

*'None love their country but who love their
home'—Coleridge*

That Kalidasa was very fond of Ujjavini, where probably he spent most of his days, and that if he was not born there, the place of his birth was somewhere near this famous city, are evident from his writings. It is not merely his accurate knowledge of the topography of a certain locality and of its products and of the manners and customs of its people, that leads us to this conclusion. For we find in his *Raghuvamsa* that he knew that the Ganges fell into the Bay of Bengal, and that palm trees, cane plants, and deltaic islands abounded in Lower Bengal, where a rich crop was yielded by transplanted paddy. We also see that he was aware that cocoanut, betel nut trees and betel plants were abundant on the sea-board of the Madras Presidency, and that wine was made from cocoanut palms. The poet was also cognisant of cardamom plants and serpent-surrounded sandal-trees in Malayakuta, Malakuta or the region south of the Kaveri—the region of the Nilgiri, Anaimalai and Cardamom hills, and knew that pearls were found near the place, where the Tamraparni flowing by Tinnevely falls.

into the Gulf of Manaar between India and Ceylon. He was not ignorant of the facts that the Sahya Parvata or the Western Ghat Mountains ran close and parallel to the sea, and that palm trees and flower bearing Ketaki and Punnaga plants grew luxuriantly on the banks of the Narmada. He knew that saffron and grapes grew in the Northern Punjab, and that wine was made from the latter. He was aware that the lower ranges of the Himalayas were infested with lions that there grew in abundance birch, bamboo, nameru and pine trees, and that the air there exhaled the fragrance of the musk deer, and that K liguru (agallochan) trees abounded, and spirited elephants were available in Assam.

So we see that Kalidasa knew accurately most of the provinces of India. But we find in his works, as M M H P Sastri says his partiality for the Himalayas and Ujjain and the district around the latter place. The Poet begins his Kumara sambhava with a sublime and beautiful description of the mountain—

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाविराजः ।
पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधीवगाह्य स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः ॥

अनन्तरकमभवस्य यस्य हिम न सौमान्यविकोपि जातम् ।
एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते निमज्जतीन्द्रो किरणेष्विवाहः ॥
यन्माप्सरोविभ्रममण्डनानां सम्पादयिषीं शिखरैर्विमर्शि ।
बलाहकच्छेदविमकरागामकालसन्ध्यामिव चातुमत्ताम् ॥

य पूरयन् कीचकरध्रुभागान् दरिमुखोत्थेन समीरणेन ।
उद्गाम्यतामिच्छति किञ्चराणां तानप्रदायित्वमिवोपगन्तुम् ॥

दिवाकराद्रक्षति यो गुहासु लीन दिवाभीतमिवान्धकारम् ।
क्षुब्धेऽपि नून शरण प्रपन्ने ममत्वमुष्णै शिरसा सतीब ॥
लाङ्गलविक्षेपवितर्पिशोभैरितस्ततश्चन्द्रमरीचिगौरै ।
यस्यार्थयुक्त गिरिराजशब्द कुर्वन्ति बालव्यजनैश्चमयं ॥

भागीरथीनिर्झरशीकराणां बोढा मुहु कम्पितदेवदारु ।
यद् वायुरन्विष्टमृगै किरातैरासेव्यते भिन्नशिखण्डिवहं ॥
सप्तर्षिहस्तावचितावशेषाव्यधो विवस्वान् परिवत्तमान ।
पद्मानि यस्यप्रसरोरुहाणि प्रबोधयत्युष्वमुखैर्मयूखै ॥
यज्ञादियोनित्वमवेक्ष्य यस्य सार धरित्रीधरणक्षमञ्च ।
प्रजापति कल्पितयज्ञभाग शैलाधिपत्य स्वयमन्वतिष्ठत् ॥

K S —I 1,3,4 8,12,13,15 17.

[Far in the north Hīmalava, lifting high
His towery summits till they cleave the sky,
Spans the wide land from east to western sea,
Lord of the hills, instinct with deity

Proud mountain king ! his diadem of snow
Dims not the beauty of his gems below
For who can gaze upon the moon and dare
To mark one spot less brightly glorious there ?
Who 'mid a thousand virtues dares to blame
One shade of weakness in a hero's fame ?

Oft, when the gleamings of his mountain brass
Flash through the clouds and tint them as they
pass,
Those glories mock the hues of closing day,
And heavens bright wantons hail their hour of
play,
Till, ere the time, the magic of their glance,
And deck their beauty for the twilight dance

List ! breathing from each cave, Himalaya leads
The glorious hymn with all his whispering reeds,
Till heavenly minstrels raise their voice in song,
And swell his music as it floats along

Yet hath he caves within whose inmost cells
In tranquil rest the murky darkness dwells,
And like the night bird, spreads the brooding wing
Safe in the shelter of the mountain king,
Unscorned, uninjured, for the good and great
Spurn not the suppliant for his lowly state
E'en the wild kine that roam his forests bring
The royal symbols to the mountain king
With tails outspread, their bushy streaming hair
Flashes like moonlight through the parted air
What monarch's fan more glorious might there be,
More meet to grace a king as proud as he ?

With pearly dewdrops Gangā loads the gale
That waves the dark pines towering o'er the vale,

And breathes in welcome freshness o'er the face
Of wearied hunters when they quit the chase
So far aloft, amid Himalayan steeps,
Couched on the tranquil pool the lotus sleeps,
That the Bright Seven, who star the northern sky,
Cull the fair blossoms from their seats on high,
And when the sun pours forth his morning glow
In streams of glory from his path below,
They gain new beauty as his kisses break
His darlings' slumber on the mountain lake

Well might that ancient hill by merit claim
The power and glory of a monarch's name,
Nurse of pure herbs that grace each holy rite,
Earth's meekest bearer of unyielding might
The Lord of Life for this ordained him king,
And bade him share the sacred offering] G

উত্তৰতে আছে দেবাস্থক দেবধাম
অচলৈৰ অবিভাজ হিমালয় নাগ,
পূৰ্বাপৰ ভাগ য়াৰ পয়োনিধি গ—
বহিরাছে মেদিনীৰ মানদণ্ড যত ।

পৰিমাণ শূন্য বহুৱাজিৱ গ্ৰন্থৰ
হিমহেতু নহে তাৰ গোবৰ লাঘব ,
গুণ সমূহতে একদোৰ লুপ্তকৰে,
কলঙ্ক নিমগ্ন হৈলু কৰে নিজ কৰে ।
শেখৰেৰ ধাতু আভা লাগি মেঘচয়ে,
অকালেতে সন্ধ্যা বোধ হয় হিমালয়ে,

মনাহবা অঙ্গবাব তাহে মন হবে,
বিভ্রনেতে তসময়ে বেশভবা কবে ।

সেই গিবি-দৰীমুখ-জাত সমীৰণ
বংশেব বিবব-ভাগ কবি সম্পূৰণ,
গানে বত গন্ধৰ্ব-গণের সন্নিধান,
স্বব সংমিলন হেতু চড়াইছে তান ।

দিবাভীত অন্ধকাৰ নিবসি কন্দবে,
বাতিচব প্রায়, বক্ষা পায় ভানু-কবে
শবণ আগত অতি ক্ষুদ্র জন প্রতি
নিতান্ত মমতা-শীল মহতেব মতি ।

চমবী-লাঙ্গুল-ক্ষেপ কিবা শোভাকব,
নিদ্দিয়া চক্ৰের ছাতি অতি স্তম্ভতর,
গিবিবাজ নাম গিবি ধবে সত্য বটে,
এহেন চামব যার ছলায় নিকটে ।

অঙ্গে ধবি ভাগিরথী নিৰ্ব্ব-শীকব,
কাঁপাইছে বাববাব মন্দাব-নিকব,
হেন সমীৰণ সেবে, মৃগ-অশ্বেষণে,
চঞ্চল মযুবপুচ্ছ-বাবী ব্যাধগণে ।

অবোভাগে বিভাকব করেন ভ্রমণ,
গিৰি-শিবে, সবোববে সবোবহুগণ
সপ্ত-ঋষি চয়নান্তে যাহা ছিল শেষ,
উৰ্দ্ধ করে বিকসিত কবেন দিনেশ ।

সেই বসন্ত সাধনীর বসন্ত নিধান
ধবলী ধবলী দাব বল ফলবান,
যাগ ভাগ দিয়ে তার আপনি বিধাতা
কবিশ্রীছ শৈল আধিপত্য অধিষ্ঠাতা ।—R L B

Kālidāsa again gives a sublime and also a beautiful description of the Him layas in his Meghaduta, where the love lorn Yaksha points out to his Cloud messenger the route to the home of his Beloved—

আসীনানা সুরমিতশিল নাভিগন্ধৈর্মৃগাণা
তস্যা পুত্র প্রভবমবল প্রাপ্য গৌর তুধারৈ ।
বক্ষ্যস্বধ্বমভিনয়নে তস্য শৃঙ্গে নিষণ্ণ,
শোভা শ্রুভক্তিযননবৃষোৎস্নাতপঙ্কোপমেথাম্ ॥
ত চেদ্দ্বায়ৌ সরতি সরলস্কন্ধসঘটজন্মা
বাহেতোল্লকাক্ষপিতচমরীবালাভারো দ্বাগ্নি ।
অর্হসেয়ন শময়িতুমল বারিধারাসহস্রৈ-
রাপজ্জ্বলিতপ্রশমনফলা সম্পদো হুতমানাম্ ॥

তল ব্যক্ত দৃষদি চরণন্যাসমর্ষেন্দুমৌলে ¹
শব্দত্বসিদ্ধৈ রপদ্রুতবলি ভক্তিভ্র পরীয়া ।
যস্মিন্দৃষ্টে করণবিগমাদুধ্বমুদৃতপাপা
কলিষ্যতে স্থিরগণপদপ্রাসয়ে শ্রদ্ধাধানা ॥
শব্দায়ন্তে মধুরমনিলা কীচকা পূর্যমাণা
সরস্বতীমিহপুর্বিজয়ো গীযতে কিস্রীমি ।

1 Called Srīcharana nyasa in Sambhu rahasya, a small hill near Haridvāra called Haraka Payri or the foot of Śiva—Wilson and Pāthaka

निर्हादस्ते मुरज इव चेत् कन्दरेषु ध्वनि स्यात्
सङ्गीतार्थो ननु पशुपतेस्तस्य भावी समग्र ॥

गत्वा चोष्णं दशमुखभुजोद्भासितप्रस्थसन्धे
कैलासस्य सिद्धशरनितादूर्णस्यातिथि स्या ।
शृङ्गोच्छ्रायै कुमुदविशदैयो^१ वितत्य स्थित स्त,
राश्रीभूत प्रतिदिनमिष स्रवकस्यादहास ॥
उत्पश्यामि त्वयि तदगते स्निग्धभिन्नाङ्गनाभे,
सद्य कृतद्विरदरदनच्छेदगौरस्य तस्य ।
लीलामद्रे स्तिमितनयनपेक्षणीया भविषी-
मसनःस्तो सति हलभृतो मन्त्रके वाससीव ॥

(M D I 53,54,56,57,59,60)

[As Siva's bull upon his sacred neck,
Amidst his ermine, owns some sable speck,¹
So shall thy shade upon the mountain show,
Whose sides are silvered with eternal snow,
Where Gangā leads her purifying waves,
And the musk deer spring frequent from the caves
From writhing boughs should forest flames arise,
Whose breath the air, and brand the yak supplies,
Instant afford the aid, 'tis thine to lend,
And with a thousand friendly streams descend,
For still on earth prosperity proceeds
From acts of love and charitable deeds

¹ Like dark earth by the snow white ball of Siva tossed —
T K R

Next to the mountain with the foot imprest,
 Of him who wears the crescent for his crest,
 Devoutly pass, and with religious glow
 Around the spot in pious circles go
 For there have saints the sacred altar raised,
 And there eternal offerings have blazed,
 And blest the faithful worshippers for they
 The stain of sin, with life shall cast away,
 And after death a glad admittance gain,
 To Siva's glorious and immortal train
 Here wake the chorus bid the thunder's sound
 Deep and reiterated roll around
 Loud as a hundred drums, while softer strains
 The swelling gale breathes sweetly through the canes,
 And from lovely songsters of the skies,
 Hymns to the Victor of Tripura rise —W

Seek then Kailasa's hospitable care,
 With peaks by magic¹ arms asunder riven,
 To whom, as mirror, goddesses repair,
 So lotus bright his summits cloud the heaven,
 Like form and substance to God's daily laughter given
 Like powder² black and soft I seem to see
 Thine outline on the mountain slope as bright
 As new sawn tusks of stainless ivory,
 No eye could wink before as fair a sight
 As dark blue robes upon the Ploughman's³ shoulder
 white] —T K R .

“মৃগনাভি-পঙ্কে সুবতি-কন্দব,
 পুণ্য জাহ্নবীৰ জনম যার,
 তুবার-ধবল হিমাত্রি-ভূধর,
 আবোহিবে, সখে, যখন তার,
 শ্রম-বিনোদনে ধবল শিখবে
 বসিলে, সুন্দর হইবে শোভা,
 মহেশ-বৃষের স্নেহ শৃঙ্গোপরে
 পঙ্কের মলিন যেমন আভা !
 বায়ু-বিতাড়িত দেব দারু-ক্রমে
 কর্কশ স্বৰ্ণে যদি বা উঠে
 দাবান্নি ভীষণ হিমালয়-ভূমে,
 দঙ্ক-কেশ-ভার চমরী ছুটে,
 শত বাবিধারা বরষি তাহার
 নিবায়ো বিকট অনল-শিখে,
 বিপদে আর্তের হইতে সহায়
 সাধুব সম্পদ জানিও, সখে ।

শিলায় অঙ্কিত ধূর্জটি-চরণ,
 যোগী আনে পূজা সতত যার,
 করো প্রদক্ষিণ ভক্তি-নম্র-মন,
 ঘুচিরা ঘাইবে কলুষ-ভার,
 তকত-জনেব, দরশনে তার,
 পাপ, তাপ দুবে পলায়ে যার,
 দেহান্তে ধরিয়া সুন্দর আকার
 শিব-সহচর-পদবী পায় ।

কীচকেব বন্ধে, অনিল প্রবেশি
 নাজিয়েছে লেগু মধুর ববে
 কিন্নব যুবতী দল দলে মিশি,
 ত্রিপুর বিজয় গাইছে সবে ,
 তুমি যদি কব যোগদান তাব
 সুবজ পবজের করিয়া ধ্বনি,
 কন্দব ম'কার শঙ্কব পূজায়
 সম্পূর্ণ ন গীত হইবে, গণি ।

উর্দ্ধে উঠি দেখ ক্ষটিক কৈলাস,
 (বাড়িল বাবণ, তাহাতে প্লথ
 সান্নু সন্ধি তাব),—উজ্জল বিভাস,
 অমর নুবীর আবশি মত ,
 বজ্রত তবঙ্গে জুড়িয়ে আকাশ
 শৃঙ্গ শৃঙ্গোপবে উঠেছে তায়,
 যেন রাশীকৃত হর-অট্টহাস
 জমাট বাধিয়ে প্রকাশ পায় ।

নূতন কর্তিত গজ-দন্ত প্রাণ
 অতি গুল সেই গিবিব কোলে,
 উজ্জল কাজল জিনি ঢব কায়
 লগন হইয়া যখন দোলে,
 ভাবি মনে, হবে অপূৰ্ণ সুখমা,
 নেহারিবে লোক তিমিত চোকে,
 শ্রম উত্তরীৰ ধবিবে উপমা,
 যেন বলদেব ধবল বুকে । ” —B C M.

The sonorous sound produced by the wind passing through hollow hill bamboos has been described, as we have seen, in the *Kumārasambhava* and *Meghaduta*. This is also referred to twice in the *Raghuvamśā* (II—12 and IV 73)

We have already noted Kālidāsa's edifying description of the Himalayas in the expedition of Raghu (see p. 113). He places the first scene of his *Vikramorvasī*, viz., the worship of the Sun by King Pururavas, the carrying away of the nymph Urvasī by the demon Kesī, and her rescue by the King in the region of the Hemakuta or the golden peaked (resplendent with the rays of the sun falling on its snow peaks) Himagirī. After Pururavas has been successful in persuading the beautiful Urvasī, with whom he has fallen desperately in love, to become his queen, he decides to spend his honeymoon on the Kailasa mountain and near the lake Mānassarovara, where he later on roams demented on account of the loss of his Beloved, who has been turned into a creeper.

Kālidāsa's liking for this mountain may be accounted for by the fact that it is one of the grandest creations of Nature, and specially by the fact that it is not only the abode of the lesser gods and demigods, but also that of the great God Isā, Isvara or Śiva, whom he invokes or celebrates in almost all his works and of whom he is a devoted worshipper. The poet may have undertaken a pilgrimage from Ujjaini or its neighbourhood to Mānassarovara and Mount Kailasa through Brahmavarta, Kurukshetra, Kankhala, and the lower and then the higher slopes of the Himalayas, and thus may have become

acquainted with this snow-capped and gold-crested monarch of mountains' His statement that walking on snow hurts toes and ankles, may have been derived from actual experience (K S I 11)

But there is another part of India of which Kalidāsa is particularly fond It is Malava and specially Ujjain and the district around it He could not make Ujjain or its neighbourhood the scene of his principal action in his Kum'rasambhava or the epic of the birth of the war god, the son of Siva and Parvati, whose dwelling is the Himagiri, or in his Abhijnāna S'akuntalam, the plot of which he borrowed from the Mālabharata, which places the hermitage of the ascetic Kanva, the adoptive father of Sakuntala, in Bijnor on the bank of the Malini, an affluent of the Ganges, or in his Vikramorvasi, the plot of which is taken from the S'atapatha Brahmana and the Puranas, and which has to locate the habitation of Urvashi, her companion nymphs and the Gandharvas in the Himalayas, though the capital of the king is at Pratishthanapura near Prayaga and on the confluence of the Yamuna and the Ganges

Though the capital of the kings of the Dilipadynasty is Ayodhya, yet Kalidasa in the Raghuvamśam refers feelingly to Avanti in the svayamvara of Indumati, when he presents before us its king, whose capital Ujjayini stands on the S'iprā But in the Meghaduta, he lavishes all the wealth of his imagination on the description of his beloved city A Yaksha for neglect of duty has been banished to Rāmagiri or Rāmagarh hill¹ in the Central Provinces

1 Rāmagarh Hill in Surguja (C P) about 75 miles north east

by his master Kuxera, the god of riches and the lord of Alakapuri on the Kailasa mountain, and has thus been separated from his beloved wife. He asks the Cloud who is to be his दूत or messenger to his consort to proceed first west and then north towards the Amrakuta or Amarakantaka hill² full of mango trees), the source of the River or Narmada, after crossing the Malabhum³ or the table land of Central India and fertilising it with his showers —

त्वय्यायत्त कृषिकलमिति भ्रूविकारानभिज्ञै
पीतिस्निग्धैर्जनपदमधूलोचनं पीयमान ।
सद्यः सीरोत्कर्णसुरभिदोक्षमास्वा मास
किञ्चित्पश्चाद्भ्रज लघुगतिर्भूय एवोत्तरेण ॥

(more east than north) of Amarakantaka Mr Asita Haldār writes (in the Modern Review—1915 pp 379-86) that the tradition is that Rama Sita and Lakshmana bathed here during their exile (M D—I 12). There are two foot prints said to be those of Rama and a human figure between them near a cave—Rama, Sita and Lakshmana are represented in one block of stone. Here are also to be found the ruins of gateways. In verse 14 of Meghaduta Kalidasa uses उदङ्मुख or turning your face northwards. Either the Poet commits a mistake regarding the exact direction or he simply means that though it has to proceed in a south westerly direction its face should be turned northwards because its goal is Alakā on mount Kailās which lies towards the North. Mr Haldār whom we saw at Lucknow in April 1927 confirmed our above statement. (See also the Central India Survey of India Map 1925)

2 About 50 miles N W of Bilāspura a northeastern peak of the Maikala Range situated near the source of the Narmadā (Survey of India Map of Central India, 1925)

3 Malava is the same as Malabhum or tableland

त्वमासारपूशमितवनोपप्लव साधु मूर्ध्ना
वक्षततपश्चश्रमपरिगत सानुमानान्नकूट ।
न क्षुद्रोऽपि पथमसुकृतापेक्षया सशयाय
प्राप्ते मित्रे भवति विमुख कि पुनर्द्यस्तथोच्चै ॥

(M D —I 16 and 17)

(The farmer's wives on Mala's lofty lea
Though innocent of all coquettish art
Will give thee loving glances , for on thee
Depends the fragrant furrow's fruitful part —

T K R

Thence sailing north and veering to the west,
On A'mrakuta's lofty ridges rest ,
Oft have thy showers the mountain's flames
allayed

Then fear not wearied to demand its aid ,
Not e'en the vilest, when a falling friend
Solicits help it once was his to lend,
The aid that gratitude exacts denies ,
Much less the virtuous shall the claim despise)—W

(জানি কৃষিকল অরীন তোমাবি,
সরল নরনে হবষ-ভবা
নেহাবিবে তোমা জনপদ নাবী,
ভুৰূব বিলাস জানেনা তাবা ।

স্বভিভূমি সত্ত্ব কবষণে
উঠি মালকোত্রে, ববষ তায় ,
উত্তরেতে, পবে অরিত গমনে,
বাও পুন হৰে অলঘুকায় ।

তব জন্মদায়ক পথ দাব নন্দ

তাই আশ্রিত হইল কবি,

পথশ্রমে তব শরীর বিকল,

বাখির নিশ্চয় হাঁ এ বি,

কুহ ও বিমুখ না হয় সর্বথা,

পূর্ব উপকার জাগিয়ে বকে,

স্থান দিত মিত্রে,—তার কিবা কথা।

বার উচ্চশিব গগনে ঠেকে ?)—B C M

Of course the cloud Could have reached its destination, Mount Kailasa, by a short cut from Ramagarh (in Surguja), through Bagelkhand, Allahabad and Lucknow, and hills, forests and rivers could not have made it—a cloud as it was—betake itself to a devious course, which is almost twice the length of the shortest route But the Poet persuades it to choose a circuitous route in order that he may show it the principal cities, rivers and hills of Central India and specially Ujjaini of which he is so fond

From A'mrakuta, the Cloud will float to the place where the Narmada is divided into streamlets by the rugged stones at the foot of the Vindhya Then the Cloud will proceed through a beautiful forest full of deer and kadamba and kutaja flowers to the Dasarna country redolent with ketaki flowers and full of jambu fruit and migratory swans the capital of which is the famous Vidisa¹ on the Vetravati (Betwa—an affluent of the Yamuna) close to which are the

1 It was situated on the junction of the Bes and Betwa near the

Nichaiḥ hill ² full of lovers and kadamba flowers, and the Naganadī,³ the banks of which are fragrant with jasmine blossoms. Then though its road is likely

town Bhilsa (a station on the G I P Railway 34 miles north east of Bhopal) which belongs to the Maharaja of Gwalior

2 The Sanchi Hill according to V M H P Sastri on which are the famous Buddhist Stupas Sanchi belongs to the Mahamadīn Principality of Bhopal. But Nichaiḥ most probably refers to some other hill close to Bhilsa and Besnagar—firstly because the Poet is silent about the celebrated Buddhist monuments which according to Sir John Marshall were built on the Sanchi Hill from the 3rd century B C down to the 12th century A D secondly because the Poet's religious instinct would fight shy of converting temples into meeting places of lovers and thirdly because तस्य (there) signifies that the hill is at Vidisā on the Vetravati and forms part of the City this low hill being the quarter where are located the houses of ill fame while the Sanchi Hill is six miles south west of Bhilsa and Besnagar. There are several low hills close to Besnagar. It appears that Vidisā was notorious in the time of the Poet for being full of licentious men and women. This is probably hinted at indirectly by him when he says —

पूथितविदिशालक्षणा राजधानी गत्वा सद्यः कामुकत्वस्य महत् फलमपि

कञ्चन — as if the city were celebrated only for enabling people to attain the great fruit of licentiousness. Of course the poet adds that the cloud will be enabled to kiss its lady love the river Vetravati. Some scholars identify Nichaiḥ with Udayagiri which is nearer to Bhilsa and Besnagar than Sanchi. It is probably a low hill as its name implies in contrast with Uchchaiḥ or the high hill A'mrakuta

(V D — I — 17)

3 Most probably a poetic synonym of the river Pārvati a tributary of the Chambal. A station on the Bhopal Ujjayini Railway is named after the river. The river is 33 miles west of Bhopal. In the same way the name of the capital of the Sunga Dynasty was Pus̥tapura or Kusumapura

to be circuitous, if it flies southwest towards Ujjain, as its proper route lies northwards, still it should not fail to see this city of palaces and of beautiful-eyed women on the banks of the Sīpra, after crossing the Nirvindhya¹ and Sindhu². Then follows an eloquent and graphic description of this sacred and ancient city, the abode of the god Chandīśvara Mahākala³—

प्राप्यायन्तीमुदयनकशाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान्
पूर्वाहिष्यामुपसरपुरी श्रीविशाला विशालाम् ।⁴
स्वल्पीभूते सुचरितफले स्वर्गिणा गा गताना,
शेषै पुण्यै कृतमिव दिव कान्तिमत्स्वण्डमेकम् ।
दीर्घाकुर्बन् पटु मदकल कूजित सारसाना
प्लुषेषु स्फुटितकमलामोदमैत्रीकषाय ।⁵

1 Probably the same as the Newaj (a tributary of the Chambal) cut by the Bhopal Ujjain Railway between Shujaulpur and Akodia 50 and 58 miles respectively northwest of Bhopal (see the Survey Map of Central India 1925). The Vishnupurana (II 3 10) mentions the Nirvindhya as rising from the Rikhsavian hills (in the Central Provinces).

2 Probably Kalisindhu after which a picturesque station of the Bhopal Ujjain Railway is named. It is a tributary of the Chambal. The river is 70 miles West of Bhopal.

3 The God Sīpra is still called Mahākala and is worshipped daily by numerous pilgrims and has his temple at a short distance from the Sīpra. His arati or evening worship is as famous as that of Visves'vara of Kāsi.

4 Visāla Ujjayini Avanti and Ujin are synonyms. Avanti also stood for the district of which the capital was Ujjayini.

5 Still there is near the temple of Mahākala a tank full of blooming lotuses.

जालोद्गीर्णैरपचितवपु केशतस्कारधूपै-
बन्धुपीतया भवनशिखिभि उत्तनुतगोपहार ।
हर्म्येष्वस्या कुसुमसुरमिष्वध्वखेद नयेथा ,
लक्ष्मीं पश्यन् रत्नितवनितापादरागाङ्गितेषु ॥

भर्तुं कण्ठच्छविरिति गणै सादर वीक्ष्यमाण
पुण्य यायास्त्रिभुवनगुरोर्धाम चण्डीश्वरस्य ॥
धूतोद्यान कुवलयरजोगन्धिभेगेन्धवतया'
स्तोयक्रीडा निरतयुवतिस्नानतिक्तैर्मरिचि ॥

अप्यनस्मिन् जलधर । महाकालमासाद्य काले,
स्थातव्य ते नयनविषय यावदतेति भानु ।
कुर्वन् सन्ध्याव लपटहता शूलिन श्लाघनीया-
मामन्त्राणा फलमविकल लप्स्यसे गर्जितानाम् ॥

पादनयासै कणितरशनास्तत्र लीलावधूतै ,
रत्नच्छायाखचितवलिभिश्चामरै क्लान्तहस्ता ।
वेक्ष्यास्त्वत्तो नखपदसुखान् पाप्य वर्षाप्रबिन्दू-
न्नामोदयन्ते त्वयि मधुकरश्चे णिडीर्घान् कटाक्षान् ॥

पश्चाद्भुजैर्भुजतरुवन मण्डलेना भेलीन
सान्ध्या तेज पूतिनवजवापुष्परक्त दधान ।
नृत्तयारम्भे हर पशुपतेस्त्र नागाजिनेच्छ
शान्तोद्देगस्तिमितनयन दृष्टभस्मिर्भवानया ॥

1 Still may be seen at this place a numero is peacocks displaying their beautiful feathers

2 A tributary of the Saptar. It is now called Gandhanala. What was a beautiful stream redolent with the fragrance of lotuses has now become दुग्धवती or a stinking drain as M M H P S'astri says

गच्छन्तीनां रमगवपति योपिता तन्न नक्त
 रुद्रालोके नरपतिपथे सूचिमेयैस्तमोभि ।
 सोतामिनया कनकनिकपस्निग्धया दर्शयोर्वी
 तोयोनृमगहन नितमुन्वगे मा च भूर्विष्णुवार्ता । ॥

VI D — I 31 to 35

(Behold the city whose immortal fame
 Glows in Atlantis or Visl's name,
 Renowned for deeds that worth and love inspire
 And bards to praise them with poetic fire
 The rarest portion of celestial birth,
 Of Indra's paradise transferred to earth
 The last reward to acts austerest given,
 The only recompense then left to heaven
 Here as the early Zephyrs waft along,
 In swelling harmony the woodland song,
 They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower,
 That joyful opens to the morning hour,

Here should thy spirit with thy toils decay,
 Rest from the labours of the wearying way,
 Round every house the flowery fragrances spread,
 O'er every floor the painted footstep treads
 Breathed through each casement swell the scent
ed air,
 Soft odours shaken from dishevelled hair
 Pleased on each terrace dancing with delight
 The friendly peacock hail thy grateful flight

Delay then, certain in Ujjain to find
 All that restores the frame or cheers the mind
 Hence with new zeal to Śiva homage pay,
 The God whom earth, and hell and heaven obey
 The choir who tend his holy fane shall view,
 With awe in thee his neck's celestial blue,
 Soft through the rustling grove the fragrant gale
 Shall sweets from Gandhavatī's fount exhale
 Where with rich dust the lotus blossoms teem,
 And youthful beauties frolic in the stream
 Here, till the sun has vanished in the west,
 Till evening brings its sacred ritual, rest
 Then reap the recompense of holy prayer,
 Like drums thy thunders echoing in the air — W
 The women there, whose girdles long have tinkled
 In answer to the dance whose hands yet seize
 And wave their fans with lustrous gems besprink
 ed,
 Will feel thine early drops that soothe and please,
 And recompense thee from black eyes like cluster
 ing bees—T K R
 Nay more Bhavani shall herself approve,
 And pay thy services with looks of love,
 When as her Śiva's twilight rites begin,
 And he would clothe him in the reeking skin,
 He deems thy form the sanguinary hide,
 And casts his elephant attire aside,
 For at his shoulders like a dusky robe,
 Mantling impends thy vast and shadowy globe,
 Where ample forests, stretched its skirts below,
 Projecting trees like dangling limbs bestow,

And vermil roses mercely blooming shed
Their reflected glow, their blood-resembling red —W
Where women steal to rendezvous by night,
Through darkness that a needle might divide,
Show them the road with lightning flashes

bright,

As golden streaks upon the touchstone's side—
But rain and thunder not, lest thy be terrified)

—T K B

(প্রাবশি অবতী, যথা বৃদ্ধগণ
বসবাজ কথা ডাল সঞ্চাল,
বিণাশা নগরী কবচে গদা
অতুল সম্পদ জগতী-ভাল ,
সুবাইলে প্রাশ স্বর্গ পুণ্য ফল
ফিবে আসিকালে মবত 'পবি
শেষ পুণ্য সাধু যেন বা উজল
ত্রিদিবর খণ্ড এনাছ হবি ।

সানন্দ কাকলি সাবস কুজন
কবি পুষ্ঠের মধুবতায়,
উবার গ্রহল কমল-কানন
চুমি মৃদুশ্বাসে সুবতি-কায়,

বাতায়ন-স্রুত কুস্তল-বচন
ধূমে পুষ্ঠ কবি কুশিত দেহে,
পোষা ময়ূরের হবস নর্ভন
(শ্রীতি-উপহাস) গ্রহিয়া নেহে,

শ্রম-দূব তবে গৃহ চুড়ে পশে',
 ফুল-বাসে ভবা নেহাব হবে
 রাঙ্গা দাগ চাক-চবণ-পবশে,
 দেখ কি সৌভাগ্য উজ্জীন ধবে ।

চণ্ডীশ্বর-ধান পবিত্র মন্দির
 যাও, তাবপব, হবষ-মন,
 হর-কণ্ঠ-নীল তোমাব শবীর
 তেবিবে সাদবে প্রমথ-প্রণ ,
 যেথা, কেলিবত গন্ধবতী-জলে
 যুবতী-অঙ্গেব সৌবত হবি,
 বহে যায় লুটি পদ্ম-পবিমলে,
 উতান-লতায় কাঁপায়ে ধীরি ।

যাবত না ভান্ন ছাডায়ে নরন
 অন্তগিবি পাশে লুকায়ে যায়,
 সেকাল অবধি রহিও, হে ঘন,
 মহাকাল-ধামে, কহি তোমাষ ,
 সন্ধ্যাপূজা-কালে দেব পিনাকীব
 হুমন্দ মন্ত্রণে দামামাধবনি
 কবি, ধন্য কৰো গর্জ্জন গভীব,
 কৃত-কৃতার্থ আপনা গনি ।

লীলা-রাগ-বঙ্গে চরণ-ক্ষেপণে
 নিতম্বে শিজ্জিত বসনা-ভার,
 মণিময়-দণ্ড-চামক-চালনে
 উপজিত শ্রম বাহুল্যতাব,

নাৰায়ণী , শ্ৰৱণে দাৰী
 নব জল বৰ। তোমাৰ সৈন্য
 ভ্ৰমৰবৰ শ্ৰেণী কটাক্ষ বিহীন,
 হাৰিবে অঙ্গ জলসায় চায়।

উচ্চশা 'তব কান ছাট
 'গুণ আকাৰ ছাড়াই কায়
 সাক্ষী নব জবা কিবা গায়
 কবিবান্ধু গজ অজি প্ৰায়¹
 ভালে জল বিট টটন
 গণিবেন শূলী ভ্ৰমোত্ত তোমা
 গজাস্তব চম্ভ, — প্ৰসন্ন নরনে
 দেখিবেন তব ভক্তি উমা।
 গিৰিচা পথ শ্ৰেণী উদ্ভাটিনী
 বেজেছে বানী প্ৰিয়ব পাশ,
 বণীৰ গা ঢেকেছে বানী,
 হুচি হেত যোব ভিৰি বাসে,
 নিকষে কাক বৈখাৰ মতা,
 মূছ দামিনীতে দেখাৰো ধৰা,
 ঢেলোনাৰ বাবি, বধোনা গজেন —

তাৰা মে অবলা, ভয় কাতৰা। B C M

King Udayana was as Dr L Sarup says, 'the king Arthur of Indian Literature, the fascinating hero of romance, the prince-charming of fairy tales' 'The floating mass of oral tradition was utilised in Bri-

1 Siva covering himself with the skin of Gajasura danced his *randava* dance

hat Kathamanjari and Kathasaritsagara and later on by Bhīṣa Pradyota (or Chanda mahasena) king of Ujjaini has a daughter named Vasavadattī who sees king Udayana of Vatsa in a dream becomes enamoured of him, manages to apprise him of her love, and is carried off by him

After leaving Ujjaini the Cloud is to proceed towards its goal. It will cross the limpid river Gambhira¹ full of frisking bright small fishes, with its banks overgrown with drooping canes, and passing over lines of wild fig trees, will arrive at Devagiri (Devagar situated south of the Chambal) on which small hill, scarcely two hundred feet high is still a temple of Śkanda or Kīrtikeya². After worshipping the son of Śiva with showers of blossoms wet with the water of the celestial Ganges and making his peacock dance with its sonorous thunder sound, the Cloud will move towards the Charmanvatī, *literally* 'skinbearing'—(Chambal) which is so named for the cow sacrifice of Rantideva, an ancient king of Das'apura

त्वय्यादातु जलमवनते शार्ङ्गिणो वर्णचौरे

तस्या सिन्धो पृथुमपि तनु दूरभावात् प्रवाहम् ।

1 A tributary of the Sīpra about 10 miles west of Ujjaini (See the Survey map of Central India 1925)

2 J B O R S—Vol I—Part II But the place which must be situated between the Gambhira and the Sava or Sau or Sīvada a tributary of the Chambal on which Mandasor stands is not shown in the Central India Survey map of 1925. In the map published by the Gwalior State there is however a place called Devagarh about 56 miles south east of Ujjaini. But Kālidāsa probably does not mean this Devagarh, because the Cloud is to proceed north-west from Ujjaini to Dasapura after crossing the Gambhira

मे क्षिप्रन्ते गगनगतयो नूनमावर्ज्य इष्टी-

रेक मुक्तागुणमिव भुव स्थूलमध्येन्द्रনীलम् ॥ M D I 47

(Narrow the river seems from heaven's blue,
And gods above, who see her dainty line
Matched, when thou drinkest with thy darker hue
Will think they see a pearly necklace twine
Round earth, with one great sapphire in its
midst ashine)—T K R

(তছপৰি বাদি-গ্ৰহণ কাৰণ,

শ্রাম নীল তন্তু ভাটিব ঘৰ

দূৰ-ব্যোম চব অাবনয়ান

দৰি কিবা শোভা বিধাব হবে ।

দূৰতায় রূপ বিশাল তটিনী

যেন একনব যুবুতামালা

মাঝে গোঁধা স্থল ইন্দ্রনীলমণি,

ধবলীৰ বক কবে উজালা)—B C M

Then the Poet devotes one stanza to the description of Dasapur, Das'or or Mandasor¹—

তামুত্তীৰ্ণ ব্রজ পরিচিতব্রল্লতাভিন্নমাণা

পদ্মোৎক্ষেপাভুপরিবিলসতকৃষ্ণস্নানপূৰ্ণামাণাম্ ।

কুন্দক্ষেপানুগমযুকরগ্রীমুখামাভ্যবিস্ত

পালীকুর্মান্দহাপুরবধূনেককৌতুহলানাম্ ॥

M D —I—48

(The streamlet traversed, to the eager sight,
Of Das'apura's fair impart delight,

1 An important town of Central India about 80 miles north west of Ujjaini

Welcomed with looks that sparkling eyes bestow,
 Whose arching brows like graceful creepers glow,
 Whose upturned lashes to thy lofty way
 The pearly ball and pupil dark display,
 Such content as the lovely kunda shews,
 When the black bee sits pleased amidst her snows)

W

(কবিগুণমা অতিক্রমিত ,

দশগুণ দাশ, তাহাব পদ ,

পুষ্পগুণাবা দেখিলে তোমাৰ

মৌহন নবনে সোহাগ কৰে

কি ভুবব বেলা, পক্ষ বাজি ঘন,

ভাগব আঁখিতে কি কাশ তাৰা,

উপৰে চাহিতে চল চল, বেন

সচঞ্চল কুন্দ ভ্রমৰ পাবা ।)—B C M

From Dasapur the Cloud proceeds due north to Brahmavarta (between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī South eastern Panjab) and to Kurukshetra, close to and north of Brahmavarta, where in the memorable war between the Kurus and Pandavas, Arjuna showered countless arrows on the heads of Kaurava warriors. After purifying its heart, without changing its complexion, with the water of the sacred river Sarasvatī, it will fly towards Mount Kankhal near Haridvara, where Jahnu's daughter (the Ganges) meanders down from the Himalayas and laughs with its foam, and if the Cloud chooses to drink her water pure as crystal, then its shadow moving over the stream, will make the river look as beautiful as

it does at Prayāga—the confluence of the Yamunā and the Ganga. Then after ascending the slopes of the grand and charming Himalayas, the Cloud will proceed to Manassarovara, and then to mount Kailasa (north of the lake) on which the city of Alaka, the home of the pining Yaksha and his desolate wife, is situated.

We have seen that Kālidāsa makes the Cloud betake itself to a circuitous route only for the purpose of showing to it the towns, streams, streamlets, hills and hillocks of Malva and specially the city of Ujjain, to which alone he devotes thirteen stanzas or fifty-two lines of verse. There is not the least doubt that for some reason or other the Poet loved this ancient and memorable city.

The district round the Vindhya hills is the beloved region of romance to the heart of the youthful Kālidāsa. Its clouds strike the mountain with their girdle of lightning—विद्युद्दाम्नामेघराजीवविन्ध्यम् VI VI III—162). In the description of the rainy season in his Ritusamhara, he refers to the Vindhya mountain (वैन्ध्यमग्निचक्रानि) in the eighth and again in the twenty-seventh verse, which is quoted below—

जलभरनमितानामाश्रयोऽसाकमुच्चै-
र्यमृतं जलसेकैस्तोयदारतोयनम्रा ।
अतिशयपरुषाभिर्भीष्मवह्ने शिखाभि
समुपज नितताप द्वादयन्तीव विन्ध्यम् ॥

(R S —27)

(Borne down by weight of waters, 'Let us rest
On yonder heights' thus say the clouds—

Bent by their burden, when their gentle showers
Fall on Vindhya's mount, and pleasure bring
To parched up rocks, long tortured by the ray—
The cruel flame shed by the summer's fire)—S J .

('এই উচ্চ গগনাজ মোদব আশ্রয়'
'পাতলে নতয়ে বলি' মেঘচয়
ব'ষ বাবি বিদ্য অদ্বি শিব উপবি,
নিদায়েব অগ্নি নাশি আক্লাদয় গিবি ।)

In Raghuvams'a the Poet in describing Rama's inauguration after his return from exile says—

तस्यापतन् मूर्ध्नि जलानि त्रिज्योर्विन्ध्यस्य मेघपूम्नवा ईवाप ।

(R V XIV 8)

(Holy water was poured on the head of Rama, as water from clouds falls on that of Vindhya)

The close resemblance between the description of spring in his Kumarasambhava and that in his Ritusamhara—asoka and karnikara flowers, mango blossoms, bees, male cuckoos &c being present in both (K S-III 26 to 39 and R S Spring)—the latter of which from its references to the Vindhya (see above) must have been composed in this region, indicates the fact that though the Poet might have undertaken in connexion with his pilgrimage a journey to the Himalayas, he was more familiar with Central India than with the Himalayan region. He makes Chitrlekha tell Urvashi after they have arrived at Pururava's palace standing on the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna, that it looks splendid like the summit of

Kailasa mountain reflected on the water of the Yamuna at night. We, however, know that the Yamuna, rises at a considerable distance to the west of Kailasa (V V -III 39)

Palasa trees (K S III 29) may still be seen relieving the monotony of the G I P line with their saffron blossoms. Tanks full of lotuses (K S II 2 33) are common in Malwa—one may still be found adding to the picturesqueness of the modern town of Ujjain near the celebrated temple of Mahakala.

M M H P Sastri¹ is of opinion that the six seasons are distinctly perceptible only in Western Malwa, and nowhere else in India, that lions and elephants were hunted in this tract even in the middle of the nineteenth century, that rice was formerly one of its important food-crops and that the fruit trees, flower plants and animals described in Kālidāsa's Ritusamhara are found together only in this district, and that Priyangu and Kambei are its characteristic creepers.

From the frequent reference to the physical phenomena of the Vindhya in the Poet's works, from the description in his Ritusamhara of the six seasons with their characteristic plants, flowers and animals found *together* only in this area, from his detailed and accurate description of the hills, rivers, rivulets, temples, cities and towns of Central India in his Meghaduta, and from his making Vidisa (a famous city in his time), the scene of his first play Malavikāgnimitram we may

reasonably conclude that this part of Bhīratavarsha was the land of his nurture, was the place of the composition of most (if not all) of his works and was to him "a spot of earth, supreme'y blest, a dearer, sweeter spot than all the rest"

But the immortal Bard whose powerful rhymes have outlived the 'marble and the gilded monuments of princes', and whose works have obtained everywhere their due meed of praise, has really the whole world for his 'native land'—

"Go where he will, the wise man is at home,
His hearth the earth, his hall the azure dome"¹

Chapter V

The Evidence of Bra'hmanic Revival

*He worshipped as his fathers did
And kept the faith of childish days
And howsoe'er he strayed or strit,
He loved the good old ways —*

—Waltter

The earlier sense of the word *Brahman* is prayer, then holiness as manifested in prayer, priest and sacrifice, and later on the holy principle animating Nature.

The four Vedas Rik, Sama, Yajur and Atharva are concerned more or less with sacrifices. They are collections of Samhitās of hymns and prayers mostly in verse, composed chiefly for being uttered along with the pressing and offering of either the Soma juice or melted butter (घृत) to the gods². These sacrificial ceremonies were elaborate in the Brāhmanas (800—500 B C) which are prosaic and written in prose³. These sacrificial details were later on condensed in the Sūtras (500—200 B C) which are of two kinds—Śrauta (chiefly based on the Brāhmanas) Sūtras dealing with the ritual of greater sacrifices, and Grihya Sūtras or house aphorisms dealing with the rites to be performed with the domestic fire in daily life⁴. In the period of Brāhmanas the

system of the four castes assumed a definite shape, furnishing the frame within which the highly complex network of castes of today has been developed¹ In that system the priesthood, who even in the Vedic period, had occupied an influential position secured for themselves dominant power²

During the Brahmana and Sutra periods, when the Brahmins or the priesthood were by condensing and arranging the ritual and stereotyping the caste system strengthening their position in the Hindu society, their supremacy was being undermined by the philosophical systems or Upanishads, which are really continuations of the *jnana* of the Brahmanas, in which the highest end of human existence is conceived to be release from earthly life through the absorption of the Individual Soul in the Universal Soul, which is to be attained by means of correct knowledge Thus the acquisition of true knowledge was regarded as more important than the performance of sacrifices, with which the supremacy of the Brahmins was closely associated

The monism of the Upanishads which identifies the individual soul with Brahman or the Universal Soul aroused the opposition of Kapila, the founder of Sankhya Philosophy His teaching is entirely dualistic, admitting only two things, both without beginning and end, but essentially different Prakriti i. e. Matter and Purusha or numerous Individual Souls³ It denies the existence of Godhead, because firstly if there were one, there would not be so much misery in the world, and secondly there is no cogent proof of His existence,

perception being the criterion by which all hypotheses are to be scrutinised according to this system of Philosophy 'The Soul itself possesses no attributes and can be described negatively' ¹ Matter possesses within itself the three principles of its evolution and diversification—Sattva Guna (the principle of virtue light and delight), Rajas Guna (the principle of activity and pain), and Tamas Guna (the principle of darkness ignorance and apathy) One Soul is distinct from another only on account of its subtle body (सूक्ष्मशरीर), which is the vehicle of its merit and demerit according to its Karma or Work and accompanies the Soul (whose mental operations are due to the activity of its subtle body) in its transmigration from one gross body to another Salvation or the absolute cessation of pain or misery, which abounds in this world, and which is caused by these transmigrations, can be obtained only by the acquisition of the knowledge that there is absolute distinction between Soul and Matter and when this true knowledge is obtained, then the subtle body will be dissolved and the Soul will continue, becoming finally isolated, to exist individually, but in complete unconsciousness ² This denial of the Supreme God and the exaltation of knowledge over ritual were prejudicial to Brahmanism

But the greatest blow to Brahmanism was struck by the religion of Gautama Buddha, which was evolved from Sāṃkhya Philosophy There are three principal points of agreement between the two the

denial of the existence of God, the prevalence of misery, and the doctrine of Karma causing transmigration and producing misery. Though Sāṃkhya makes the individual Soul *almost* a nonentity it does not deny its existence, but Buddhism denies the existence of the Soul itself, though Buddha himself did not decide the question whether Nirvāṇa is complete extinction or an unending state of unconscious bliss¹. As in Katha Upanishad so in Buddhism the misery of worldly existence being due to desire, one can free oneself from misery by uprooting one's desire and thus rendering the rebirth of the subtle body (whether accompanied by the Soul or not as some Buddhists deny the existence of the Soul) impossible. Desire can be uprooted by means of righteous conduct or eightfold path: right view (सम्यग्दृष्टि), right resolve (सम्यक्संकल्प), right speech (सम्यग्वाक्), right action (सम्यक्कर्मन्त), right living (सम्यगाजीव), right effort (सम्यग्वाचाम), right remembrance or self knowledge (सम्यक्स्मृति) and right contemplation (सम्यग्—समाधिश्च)². It was this ethical aspect of Buddhism that, with the strenuous efforts of the emperor Aśoka (272-32 B.C.) and the missionaries, enabled it to achieve success among the masses, to whom it was communicated by means of preaching and by means of inscriptions in a language capable of being easily understood by them. Though the Buddhists denounced caste distinctions, which they regarded as worthless, they left the domestic ceremonies of their

1 'S L

2 P H T

followers to be performed according to Vedic rites. But Buddhism was emphatically a revolt against the sacrificial system of the Brahmins and their Vedas, the authority of which it denied. This was the cause of the hostility between it and Brahmanism¹. Though Asoka inculcated respect for both Sramans or Buddhist ascetics and Brahmins, he prohibited animal sacrifice and taught that right conduct was the only way to salvation. Though Brahmanism was revived in the Gupta Period, most of the Vedic rituals received a death blow not only at the hands of the Buddhists generally, but of Asoka particularly, and became obsolete for ever².

The Kings of the Śunga Dynasty (185-73 B.C.) specially Pushyamitra, its founder, were regarded by the Buddhists as their persecutors. From the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patanjali, it appears that he was a staunch adherent of Brahmanism and performed sacrifices³, and in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kalidasa there is a reference to his celebration of *Asvamedha*. The frequent mention of *Asvamedha* and similar sacrifices by Kalidasa, e.g., the *Asvamedha* of Pushyamitra in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, ninety-nine *Asvamedhas* of Dilipa, the *Viśvājit* sacrifice, after the world-conquest, of Raghu, and the *Asvamedhas* of Daśaratha, Rama and Atithi in the *Raghuvamśam*, indicates two things, namely the revival of Brahmanism, of which the Poet was the finest exponent, and the

1 P H I

2 Ibid

3 Ibid

imperial sovereignty of his patrons, the Guptas. The Kanvīyānas (73-28 B C) who succeeded the Śūngas and the Andhras (240 B C—225 A D) who ruled in Maharashtra were Hindus, and were upholders of Brāhmanism. But most of the foreign rulers—the Yavānas (Greeks) the Parthians the Sakas (the Khatrapas, Manikhatrapas, and the Kushānas)—were at least indifferent to the Brahmanical creed, while Buddhism, which was also tolerated by them, continued to flourish on account of the impetus given to it by Asoka, on account of its excellent monastic and missionary organisation, and on account of its precepts being conveyed to the masses in a language capable of being thoroughly understood by them. In a passage in the code of Manu, the foreign tribes Paundrakas Dravidas, Yavanas, Śākas and Pahlavas (Parthians) &c are stated to have been originally Kshatriyas and later on to have been reduced to the status of Śūdras for their defiance of the Brahmins and discontinuance of religious rites —

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमा क्षत्रियजातय ।
 वृषलस्य गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥
 पौण्ड्रकाञ्चौडद्रविडा काम्बोजयवना शका ।
 पारदापह्लवाञ्जिना किराता द्रवडा स्वप्ता ॥

(Manu—X—43 and 44)

‘Brāhmanadarsānena’ means ‘for not seeing or coming in contact with, the Brahmins,’ and ‘brishalātvam’ signifies ‘śūdratvam’ or the condition of a Śūdra.

In the *Anusāsana* Book (Chap XXXIII) of the

Mahābhārata, the Patriarch Bhishma says to his grandson Yudhishtira that the highest duty of the King is to worship the Brāhmins, and that the Kshatriyas like the Śakas, Yavanas, and Kambojas have become Śūdras for their disobedience to the Brāhmins—

शका यवनकाम्बोजास्तास्ता क्षत्रियजातय ।

वृषलत्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ॥

These passages, of course, are interpolations and have been inserted by the Brāhmins to indicate the apathy of the foreign rulers to their creed and ritual

That Hinduism, shorn of its narrowing ritual, which received almost a death blow in the hands of Asoka and Buddhist monks, was capable, in spite of its being closely associated with a difficult language like Sanskrit, of becoming a universal religion, is proved by the fact that several foreign potentates and high officials became converts to Hinduism. Mr Vincent Smith in the Chapter, which ends with the statement that the invasions of India by Greek Kings and their prolonged occupation of the Punjab and neighbouring regions 'had extremely little effect in hellenising the country', states that the Greek Heliodorus (son of Dios), who had become a Bhagavata or follower of Vishnu, and who was the ambassador of the Greek King, Antialcidas of Taxila, at the court of Bhagabhadra Kāsīputra or son of Kāsī erected a Garudadhvaja column in honour of the god Vishnu at Besnagar near Bhilsā in Central India between 140 and 130 B C ¹

The second Kushana Emperor Vema Kadphises (C 100 A D) was a devotee of Śīva. Though his son, the famous emperor Kaniska (C 78 A D) and his successors Huvishka and Vasishhka or Vasudeva were tolerant of all religions—Greek, Persian, Hindu and Buddhistic, as their coins show, yet Kanishka, probably in the latter part of his reign, became a confirmed Buddhist and an ardent patron of the religion of Sakamana Boddo or Śīkṣamuni Buddha.

Some of the Śāka satraps of Surashtra and Malwa were probably Hindus as is indicated by their adoption of the name of the god Rudra as a component part of their names—Rudradamana I (about 128 A D), his son Rudrasimha I (about 180 A D), his son Rudrasena I (about 199 A D) &c. Not only were some of the foreign rulers adherents of Brahmanism, but they also adopted pure Sanskrit as the vehicle of their inscriptions. Rudradamana's Girnār inscription which is associated with his restoration of the Sudarsana Lake in Kathiawar, refers to his ability to compose or at least to his appreciation of good Sanskrit in both prose and verse.

In the south, we have the inscriptions of a ruler of Kanchi of Haritiputra Satakarni and of a King of Banayasi of the early part of the third century A D, which record grants of land to Brahmins. Though Brahmanism did not die out, yet Buddhism became the predominant creed, as almost all the structures of the period between the third century B C and the fourth century A D, when Brahmanism revived with the ascendancy of the Guptas, were Buddhistic.

stupas or chaityas (smaller stupas) or hemispherical buildings containing relics of Buddha or of saints, and monasteries and sculptures representing Buddhist sacred objects and events associated with Buddha, for example those at Sanchi (150 B C—1200 A D) in Bhupal (See p 169) and at Bharut (250—150 B C) between Allahabad and Jaobupur, and the cave temples in Maharashtra, which began to be excavated from about 50 B C to 200 A D.

The scene changed with the accession of the Gupt King Chandragupta I the first paramount Hindu sovereign of Aravavarta in 320 A D. The most potent cause of the decline of Brahmanism was the absence of powerful Hindu potentates. From 350 to 529 A D, i.e., for nearly two centuries, the big majority of the inscriptions of the Gupta Period relate to the Brahmanic gods Śiva, Vishnu, the Sun and Kartikeya and to grants of lands to Brahmins, and were composed in pure Sanskrit. Only a few of the inscriptions though composed in pure Sanskrit, were Buddhist. Though the Gupta sovereigns were orthodox Hindus—most of them were Vaishnavas—they were tolerant towards the Buddhists. Buddhism began to decline for the same reason, namely the absence of powerful royal patrons, as had formerly led to the decadence of Brahmanism.

Though the Buddhists tried their best to prevent the decay of their religion in India, and adopted Sanskrit like the Hindus in their inscriptions and religious books, and substituting Mahayanism (the

great vehicle) for Hinayanism (the 'little vehicle') began to worship the images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, as the Hindus worshipped their gods and goddesses, yet they could not retard the ebb tide which had set in and which led ultimately to the virtual disappearance of their religion from the land of its origin.

Samudragupta (330-380 A.D.) revived after his extensive conquests the *Asvamedha* or horse-sacrifice, which is stated in Chandragupta II's Mathura inscription and Skandagupta's Bihar and Bhitarī inscriptions as having gone out of use for a long time. Samudragupta considered this achievement so important that he issued gold coins bearing on their obverse sides the representation of a horse let loose and of the sacrificial altar and the legend '*Asvamedha-parākrama*' or 'one who has become formidable on account of his horse-sacrifice'. The carved stone horse with an inscription on its neck in the Lu Xun Museum may be another memorial of his triumph. Similar coins were struck by Kumāragupta I and bore on the reverse the words '*Aśvamedha Mahendra*' '*Chandragupta II*', Mr V. Smith says, "must have been specially religious". His minister in the Udayagiri inscription (Fleet, C. I. No. 6, p. 35) describes him as *Rajadhirajarshi*, a combination of King and Rishi.¹ Chandragupta II, who has been described by the Poet under the designation of the Emperor of Magadha (R. V. VI—21 to 24), is credited with the performance of numerous sacrifices (See p. 85).

The Brahmins did not rely solely on the patronage of their powerful sovereigns for consolidating their sacerdotal authority. They tried their best to make Hinduism popular. The Sūtras of the post-Vedic Period were systematised into Smritis or codes of laws and were rendered intelligible and made applicable to all Brahmanic Hindus. The epics Mahabharata and Ramayana and the Puranas were interpolated and sometimes recast in such a way as to engender among the masses the belief that the Brahmins were the gods elect, and that the gods—to each of whom a Purana was assigned—they worshipped, and the rites with which they were worshipped, had existed from the creation of the world. The Brahmins also made strenuous efforts to place their creed on a philosophical basis and to show that the religion of their opponents had no such basis or had only a rotten one.

The revival of the worship of Brahmanic gods and important Brahmanic sacrificial rites, the universal adoption of pure Sanskrit in inscriptions on stone and metal instead of Pali or Prakrit, and the popularisation of the Śāstras, indicate beyond doubt, as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says, vigorous Brahmanic revival and renovation. That Kālidasa flourished during the early years of this revival, is evident from his pointed references in his works to important sacrificial rites, and to the worship of the gods Śiva, Vishnu, Kartikeya and the Sun, who are also mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta Period, and to the profound respect which is to be accorded by the

other castes to the Brahmans Their words are to be regarded as sacred as those of the Śiṣṭras They are never to be sent away empty handed Raghu has spent his all in his gifts to Brahmans in his Vis'vajit sacrifice Kautsa, a Brahman, comes to him for millions of gold coins to be paid by him to his preceptor for his tuition The king must somehow find out the money, though his treasury is empty

In his Mahāvikṣmitram, Kālidāsa refers to the As'vamedha, which Vasumitra the son of Agnimitra, the King of Vidisa, enabled his grand-father Pushyamitra or Pushpamitra to perform, by his defeat of the Greeks who had captured his grand-father's sacrificial horse In the Raghuvamśa the Poet alludes to Dilipa's performance of ninety-nine As'vamedhas and to Raghu's celebration of his Vis'vajit Yajna after his world-conquest He also refers to Dasaratha's, Rāmachandra's and Atithi's celebration of the As'vamedha with due ostentation The first act of Kusa after his coming from Kusāvati to the renovated Ayodhya, is to celebrate a worship with animal sacrifice—

ततः सपत्न्या सपुत्रपुत्रहारा पुर परार्च्यप्रतिमागृहाया ।

उपोषितैर्वास्तुविधानविद्भिर्निर्वर्तयामास रघुप्रवीर ॥

R V—XVI 38

(After which Kusa performed the house-entering ceremony with the sacrifice of animals and with the aid of fasting priests in the chief temples of the city)

Animal sacrifices are also referred to by the fisherman accused of stealing Dushmanta's ring—

पशुमारण्यमर्द्धाणामनुकम्पादुःखं विप्रो विप्रः—a śrōtriya (1 c, 2

Brahman versed in Vedic rites), though kindhearted by nature, kills animals cruelly for sacrifices (A S, Prelude to Act VI—10,

Kum ragupta I, whom Kalidasa probably had in mind, when he described Kusa also celebrated a horse sacrifice with due pomp, and struck coins as a memento. The Poet in his zeal for Brahmanic revival does not omit, in his description of the river Charmanvati or Chambal in his Meghaduta even Rantideva's gomedha or cowsacrifice which must have become obsolete and repugnant to the Hindus of his time.

Kalidasa at the beginning of almost all his works invokes his Ishtadevati Isvara or S'iva, whom he devoutly worshipped. He composed his epic Kumarasambhava to exalt his great God his consort the Goddess Parvati, and their son Kumara Skanda or Kartikeya, the god of War. In Meghaduta, he refers in glowing language to Chandis'vara Mahes'vara of Mahakala at Ujjayini, to S'aravanabhava (Kartikeya born in a reed-forest) at Devagiri and again to Tryambaka or S'iva on Mount Kailasa. Vishnu, though not the god of his heart, is the object of the Poet's deep reverence. There are many references to this deity in his works. In the person of Rama of the race of Raghu he exalts Vishnu in his great epic. He also refers to the worship of the Sun in his Vikramorvasi, when he describes Pururavas at the beginning of the play as returning from his worship of the God of the Day,—just when the nymph Urvashi has been carried away by the demon

Kes'ī Other gods of the Hindu pantheon like Brahma and Agni are not neglected

That pilgrimage to holy places, an important constituent of Brahmanic religion, was revived, is evident from Kalidasa's mention of sacred sites, which the Cloud in his Meghaduta has to traverse during his journey from Rimagiri to Alaka, the home of the Yaksha's love torn Beloved and himself Mahakala and Devagiri have already been mentioned Kalidasa adds to the list Kurukshetra and Kankhala, the former associated with the famous war of the Mahabharata and the latter (near Haridvara) sanctified by the descent of the Bhagirathi from the heights of the Himalayas to the plains of Bharatavarsha In Abhijnana S'akuntalam the sage Kanva is described as being absent from his hermitage on a pilgrimage during the time Dushmanta comes to it and marries Sakuntala

As Kalidasa mentions in his religious enthusiasm even the gomedha or cow sacrifice of Rantideva, as a great achievement on the part of the monarch so he expresses his appreciation of the conduct of Rama, who executes a Sudra for his penance, on the complaint of a Brahman, who has come to his court with a dead child, because Rama finds out after due enquiry that the premature death of the child and the other ills in his kingdom have all been due to this notorious act of sacrilege, namely, the Sudra's performance of tapasya (austerities) to which only the Brahmanas are entitled. It may be said that Kalidasa is bound to mention this incident as it occurs in the Ramayana, on which his Raghuvamsa is based, but

it may be stated in reply that the Poet nowhere follows Vālmiki faithfully

Though Kalidāsa's mention and appreciation of Rāma's conduct point to his caste bigotry, yet we should not be blind to the fact that this accomplished scholar was tolerant like his patrons, the majority of whom were orthodox Bhāgavatas or Vāishnavas, towards the adherents of other religions. The Poet, though he was a staunch Śāiva, does not in any of his works say anything against the followers of other creeds, for example, the Buddhists of his time, nor does he exhibit except in the instance noted above, his caste bigotry. A learned man like Kalidāsa knew that there were frequent inter caste marriages. Dushmanta suspects, for instance, Śākuntalā to be the daughter of Kanva and a woman of a non Brahman caste (A S I-6). The Poet also knew that the fusion of the Hindus with foreign nations professing different religions which had begun several centuries earlier, even before the time of Chandragupta Maurya who married a Greek princess laid the axe at the root of rigid caste and sect distinctions, and led Brahmanic scholars to invent the fiction that these foreign tribes had been Kshatriyas originally, but became Śūdras for their defiance of the Brahmins and of their rites and customs.

From the above it will be clear that Kalidāsa was not only the product of Brahmanism with its merits and demerits, but also its staunch champion, who helped with his genius and his pen its revival in Bhāratavarsha.

We must, however, understand the true implication of the Brahmanic revival. Since the time of Aśoka, except during the short astingsuzerainty of the Śūngas the decline of Brahmanism had connoted only the abolition of animal sacrifices equal respect, if not more being accorded to Śramans and Brahmanas, the employment of Pāli in religious literature and inscriptions instead of Sanskrit and the absence of powerful Brahmanic patrons. Buddhism as a religious creed was only an offshoot of Brahmanism and may be regarded as the practical application of a new system of Hindu Philosophy. That was the reason why the Gupta sovereigns like Samudragupta were tolerant of Buddhism,¹ why Buddha became in course of time one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, why there was a close resemblance between Mahāyānism and Paurāṇic Hinduism and why like several other new Hindu creeds Buddhism became merged later on, as Mr Havell says, 'in the ocean of Indian thought'. There is some resemblance between this Brahmanic revival in the Gupta Age and the Protestant reawakening in the Elizabethan period. The Roman Catholic supremacy in the reign of Mary (1553-58) meant not only the temporary ascendancy of Roman Catholicism, but also of foreigners like Philip II and Jesuits. The accession of Elizabeth and her most important achievement, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, sent a thrill of patriotic delight throughout

1. Fa-hien bears testimony to the fact that during the Gupta ascendancy the Buddhists enjoyed perfect freedom of worship and full liberty to endow their sacred places.

the length and breadth of England similar to what was experienced by the Hindus when Samudragupta and Chandragupta II extirpated the rule of foreigners in Bh ratavar a So Mr Havell characterises the change brought about by the accession of the Guptas not as a Hindu or Brahmanic reaction, but rather as an Aryan revival, for it was the effort of the Aryan Kshatriyas, aided by the Aryan Brahmins to restore the political and spiritual supremacy of the Indo Aryan race in Aryavarta The Brahmins were not opposing the Buddhism of which the Aryan Prince Siddhartha was the exponent, for they had been foremost in assimilating and adapting it to the fundamental doctrines of orthodox Indo Aryan religion It was against the Samgha of the Fourth Century A D under Turki, Parthian and Scythian leadership, with the superstitious corruptions and abuses which it propagated, that the better sense of the Indo Aryan intellect revolted From the religious standpoint it was a revival analogous to that which the Prince of the Aryan clan, S kya Muni, had himself inspired, for it was a reawakening of the profound spiritual instinct of the Aryan race which found expression in a great renaissance of Aryan poetry drama and art' ¹

Chapter VI

The Evidence of Ka'vya Development

'Wisdom married to immortal verse — Wordsworth

The religious revival was associated with the outburst of intellectual activity in the departments of Literature and Fine Arts. The age of the Guptas is characterised by features which cause it, like that of Pericles in Athens, that of Augustus in Italy, and that of Elizabeth in England to stand alone in the literary history of the world. It was a period of emancipation of thought, of immense fertility and originality and of high and generally diffused culture caused by the extensive conquests of Samudragupta which brought the people of A'ryavarta in contact with the S'cythians and Persians in the north and north west, and with the Dravidians and Sinhalese and possibly through them with the Hindu colonies of Java and Sumatra in the south¹, by the conquest by Chandragupta II of Surashtra, the ports of which rendered feasible the exchange of material and intellectual commodities between India and the West, by the interchange of Buddhist monks and travellers between India and China, which brought

1 There was commercial intercourse between Kalunga and Spice Islands from which cloves and other spices were imported—
(R. V—VI—67)—**इतिहासमीमांसा** ।

India in contact with the Mongolian civilisation of the east, and finally by the enthusiastic patronage extended by the powerful emperors of the Gupta Dynasty to the learned men of the land. The language, like English in the age of Elizabeth, reached its highest perfection. The poets and prose writers of this period united the freshness and vigour of youth with the regularity and majesty of manhood, and nothing can better demonstrate the intellectual activity of this epoch than the fact that besides the many excellent works in the provinces of Lyric, Kāvya or Epic, and Dramatic Literature, in which the lesser lights were outshone by the brilliancy of Kalidāsa, as in England all the smaller authors were overshadowed by Shakespeare, treatises of a high order were composed in the departments of Mathematics, Astronomy, Philosophy, Logic and Theology. Fine Arts were not neglected. As Mr Vincent Smith says, there is abundant evidence of the former existence of numerous magnificent buildings both Buddhistic and Brahmanical, which had been erected in the Gupta age and which were later on destroyed by Mahammadan soldiers, who were loth to spare any structure erected by the Hindus. Like Architecture, Sculpture, as exemplified in Sārnath and other statues, attained its highest development. Painting, as is evidenced by the frescoes of Ajanta and Sigiriya in Ceylon, was also cultivated with considerable skill.

According to Dr Keith¹ in very ancient times there

existed in Aryan India at least three different kinds of speech—(1) The poetic and hieratic language of the Rigveda and the later Samhitas, (2) the language of priests in ordinary life, and (3) the language of the ruling and subject classes. The language of the Brahmanas, A'raryakas and Upanishads was a continuation of the prose of the Samhitas. The spoken language or Bhasha for which Panini, the Grammarian (300 B. C.) laid down rules, was the language of the higher circles of the society and was a continuation of the language of the priest in ordinary life. The Prakrits were derived from the language of the ruling and subject classes, when the Aryans spread eastwards from Brahmavarta or the region of Kurushetra to Kos'ali and Videha, and became more or less mixed with the aboriginal population of these places. A'soka selected one of these Prakrits, which appealed more directly and easily than Sanskrit to the generality of his subjects, for the language of his inscriptions. Dr Keith¹ adds that besides (a) the language of the Brahmanas, A'raryakas and Upanishads, (b) the Bhasha and (c) the Prakrits there must have been (d) another dialect closely allied to Bhasha, but freer, less archaic, more inaccurate and simpler current among Rhapsodists and their patrons. From the epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, both the Puranas and Kavyas were evolved. The epics are rich in similes, and occasionally employ other ornaments and are full of beautiful and sublime descriptions of natural scenery, familiar to

the authors of later lyrics *kāvya*s and dramas. In the old epic poetry, form is subordinated to matter, but in the later classical poetry, matter becomes a means for the exhibition of dexterities in style. Pāṇini ignored this dialect in his grammar, because he was more concerned with the correct speech of priests than with any less elevated dialects. The theory that the epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* were translated from *Prākṛit* in the early centuries of the Christian era cannot be maintained, because there is abundant evidence in the shape of quotations or their substances of their existence in Sanskrit even before Pāṇini and because such a translation would be impossible in the age of the decline of Brahmanism. Both Pāṇini (300 B C) and Patanjali (150 B C) were acquainted with the *Mahābhārata*. The latter showed his acquaintance with dramatic recitation of an epic type, from which dramas were later on derived, e g., Krishna's slaying of Kamsa, Vishnu's binding of Bali, and tales of Yayati and Vasavadatta. He names *Vararucha* (*Vararuchi*s) *Kāvya*, and quotes verses embodying sentiments other than heroic—mainly erotic—in the various ornate metres of the later *Kāvya* style. Some of them are didactic like their compeers in later *Kāvya*s. From the above it will be evident that in Patanjali's time there existed in their developed forms all the important branches of Classical Sanskrit Literature, viz Dramatic, *Kāvya* or Epic and Lyric poetry which attained their highest development in the hands of Kālidāsa, and which degenerated and became extremely artificial and far removed from real life after his time.

As'vaghosha, the Buddhist dramatic and epic poet wrote his works in Sanskrit, though As'oka's inscriptions and Jātakas and other Buddhistic writings were composed in the Prākritis of the day. This shows that As'vaghosha did not dare run counter to the poetic convention of his time. The mere fact that a Buddhist monk conceived the plan of composing his epics on Buddha according to the rules of Classical Sanskrit Epic, shows how popular Kāvya Style must have become in the First Century A. D. Poets from the time of As'vaghosha to that of Kālidāsa, though using the developed form of the epic dialect, tried their best to conform to the rules of Pāṇini's Grammar. But this conformity, was not complete, for example the important rule, **परोक्षे लिट्**, that is the perfect tense should be confined to things not experienced by one's self, was not at all observed by poets including Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa used 'asa' for 'babhuva' and 'sarati' for 'dhavati' ¹. The chief distinction between Classical Sanskrit prose and poetry lies in the capacity of the former for forming long compounds.

We find in the diction of this period the disappearance of the accent and of many words of Pāṇini's Grammar, and the introduction of new ones, eg., 'Vichchitti' (literary elegance) allied to Sanskrit 'Vikshipti', 'duruttara' (hard to overcome) akin to Sanskrit 'dustara', and 'Govinda' allied to 'Gopendra' from Prākrit, divira (writer), bahādura (title) from Iranian, and jāmītra (diameter) from Greek Astronomy ².

1 —C S L.

2 C S, L.

In the dramas of As'vaghosha, the predecessor of Bhāsa and Kalidāsa, we find the higher male characters speak Sanskrit and women and men of lower ranks use Prakrit. It appears that in real life such was also the case. But the Prakrits of Bhāsa and Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* are different from that of As'vaghosha, and the Prakrit of Kalidāsa different from those of Bhāsa and Bharata. The dramatic Prakrit became stereotyped after Kalidāsa and became very different from the colloquial speech of the day.¹

That As'vaghosha, who flourished in the first century A. D. and was the author of the epic *Buddha charita* and other works, preceded Kalidāsa, is evident not only from the richer and more elaborate diction of the latter, but also from the similarity of some passages of *Buddhacharita* to those of *Raghuvamśa*, which Kalidāsa improved after borrowing, while there is evidence of Asvaghosha's indebtedness to the *Ramayana* and the *Mahābhārata*.

When the young prince, the son of Śuddhodana enters for the first time his father's capital the ladies ascend the roofs of their houses to see him—

ततः कुमारं खलु गच्छतीति श्रुत्वा स्त्रियः प्रेक्ष्यजनात् प्रवृत्तिम् ।

दिश्रया हर्म्यतलानि जम्बूजैर्न मान्येन कृतान्मनुजा ॥

(Then the ladies of the city, hearing from their attendants the news that the Prince is coming, and obtaining permission from respectable elderly persons, went up to the roofs of houses to see him)—

वातायनेभ्यश्च विनि सृनानि परस्परोपाश्रितकुण्डलानि ।

लोणां वरंजुसु सपङ्कजानि सफरानि हर्म्येष्विव पङ्कजानि ॥¹

(The lotus faces of the women gleamed, while they looked out from the windows with their earrings coming into mutual proximity, as if they were real lotuses fastened upon houses)²

Similarly when Śiva comes to marry Umap (K S—VII—56 to 62) and Aja leaves the Svayamvara assembly for his marriage with Indumatī (R V—VII—5 to 11) the ladies come up to the roofs of their houses to see the bridegroom Kalidasa simply reproduces in his Raghuvamśam, the verses which he uses in his Kumarasambhavam—

ततस्तदालोकनतत्पराणां, सोधेषु चामीकरजालवत्सु ।

बभूवुरित्य पुरसुन्दरीणां त्यक्तान्यकार्याणि विचेष्टितानि ॥

तासां मुखैरासवगन्धगर्भैर्गन्धान्तरा सान्द्रकुतूहलानाम् ।

विफोलनेत्रभ्रमरैर्गन्धवाक्सा सहस्रपद्माभरणा इवास्तम् ॥

(R V—VII—5 and 11)

(Then, freed from the other necessary engagements of the day the actions of the beautiful city women who were intent upon looking at him through the golden windows of their mansions, became as follows —)

(The windows of the mansions, the space of which was filling with the fragrance of wines of those

¹ Buddhacharita by Mr Nandargikar—Book III—13 and 19.

² Mr. Cowell

ladies whose curiosity was greatly excited, were decorated, as it were with lotuses, where their rolling eyes resembled black bees)¹

স্বৰ্ণ বাতায়নমুখ প্রাসাদ-উপরে
ছুটিল কোড়ুকভর পূবনারীগণ ,
আকুল হেবিত্ত ববে সবাকাব মন,
অজি নিভ নিভ কাব্য চলিল সুত্ব

কৌতুহল-কুল হেন বামানুখদল
গোভিল গবাক্কে, যেন বিকচ কমল ,
আনব দৌরভ যেন গগ্নিমল দায়
চঞ্চল সুনীল নেত্র অনিদল প্রায় । —V D

There is considerable agreement between Māra with his bow and five arrows, which, ~~he~~ wants to discharge at the Great Seer Buddha (Buddhacharita—XIII—7), and Kama ready to discharge his arrows against Śiva seated in the Virasana attitude of Yoga (K S—III—70) In As'vaghosha's Buddhacharita (I—63), the seer Asita says he has come to see Buddha, who is the banner of the Śākya race and who may be compared to the banner erected in honour of Indra before the chief gate of the palace for rain and prosperity Similarly Raghu who has ascended the throne is compared to the Dhvaja of Puruhuta or Indra (K V—1V3

As'vaghosha's ~~Saundarananda~~ is not a better Kavya than, is at least as good as, ~~the~~ Buddhacharita Buddha charita is the life of Buddha Saundarananda describes

the love of Nanda (Buddha's step brother) and his beautiful wife Sundari, and Buddha's successful persuasion of Nanda to retire from the world and to live a spiritual life

Here are many passages, which are noted for their beauty and pathos, and have their parallels in Raghuvams'a, Kumarasambhava, and other works of Kalidasa—

यस्य सुख्यवहाराय रक्षणाय सुखं प्रजा ।

क्षिप्रिरे विगतोद्देशा पितुरङ्गता इव ॥

(Sau II 7 A S B Edition)

[On account of whose good treatment and protection, his (S'uddhodana's) subjects being free from anxiety, slept happily, as it were on their father's lap]

Let us compare with this—

प्रजानां विनयाभानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि ।

स पिता पितरस्तासा केवलं जन्महेतव ॥

R V—I—24

(Dilpa was really the father of his people for his giving them education and protection and for his maintaining them Their fathers simply gave them birth)

There is considerable similarity between As'va ghosha's description of S'uddhodana and Kalidasa's description of Dilpa specially in its *form* Compare for instance, Sau II-4, 5, 9, 38 and 41 and R V-I 21, 22, and 23) Let us take another passage—

दिवि इन्द्रमयो मेह दीव्यताम् मरुतामिव ।

दिवीदेव्यस्तस्मिन् सार्वभौमो विराट् पद्मनेत्रवौ ॥

(Sau II 54)

(When Maya Devi the first queen of S'uddhodana, gave birth to Buddha, drum music was heard from heaven, indicating the playful delight of gods, the sun shone brighter, and auspicious breezes blew) Let us compare with the above—

दिश प्रसेर्म्स्तो बहु सुखा प्रदक्षिणाचिह्नविरन्निरादे ।

बभूव सन्ध शुभशसि तत्क्षण, भवो हि लोकान्युदयायतामसा ॥

(R V -III 14).

(When Raghu the son of Di'ipa, was born, clear and calm became the vault of heaven pleasant breezes blew, and the butter-fed flame of the sacred fire bent to the right All augured happy days, as might be expected from the birth of one destined to bring good to all men)

When there are similarities in sentiment and expression between two authors, it is to be presumed that either one has borrowed from the other, or that both have derived them from the same source. Though both As'vaghosha and Kalidasa are indebted to their predecessors, e g, Valmiki, yet such close similarities cannot be thus accounted for. That As'vaghosha is a gifted poet, cannot be questioned by any one who has gone through his writings. If he were really the borrower, his borrowings would at least be as good as Kalidasa's. See how prosaic As'vaghosha is in—मेघजनात् प्रदुस्मि and मान्धेन कुलाम्बुजा and in the repetition of पङ्क्तयानि (see page 198). Again the style of As'vaghosha is much simpler than that of Kalidasa, and resembles more that of Valmiki.

The reason why Kalidasa, though a later poet.

than Asvaghosha, does not borrow anything from him in his first work Ritusamhara is simply that Kalidasa has very little to imitate in his erotic poem from the works of the puritanic poet

The Girnī Prasasti (in prose—150 A. D. see p. 182) of Rudradāmana, the Western Satrap, is in the elaborate diction of the Kāvya type, and shows the intimate acquaintance of the author of the court of a foreign ruler with the rules of Sanskrit Poetics

Though Bhasa did not write any Kāvya, yet the perusal of his dramas leads one to the conclusion that he flourished before Kalidasa. In his Abhishekana-taka or the drama of Rama's coronation, he condenses in a few pages the incidents of Valmiki's Rāmāyana from the fight between Vali and Sugriva and Rama's treacherous slaying of the former to his coronation after his successful fight with Ravana and the fire-purification of Sita. Bhasa's summary may have suggested to Kalidasa, the condensation which he practises so adroitly in his Raghuvamsa

Kāma on his reaching the ocean for the first time with his army says—

रत्नः—विलोक्य सविस्मयम्—वत्स रुद्रमण । वयस्य विभीषण ।
महाराज सुग्रीव । सखे हनुमन् । पश्यन्तु भवन्त । अहो विचित्रता
सागरस्य । इह हि—

कविर्भीमावर्तः कविर्दपि च नम्रप्रतिभयः,
कविर्भीमावर्तः कविर्दपि च नम्रप्रतिभयः,
कविर्भीमावर्तः कविर्दपि च नम्रप्रतिभयः,
कविर्भीमावर्तः कविर्दपि च नम्रप्रतिभयः ॥

Rama (looking with astonishment)—Dear Lakshman! Friend Bibhishan! King Sugriva! Friend Hanuman! See you all how wonderful in variety is the Ocean! In it are to be found some places emitting foam, some parts where water is being agitated by big fishes, some which are fearful, again some where water looks like the blue cloud, some full of waves following one another in quick succession, some full of dreadful crocodiles some places convulsed with fearful whirlpools, and some where water is calm and unruffled

Kālidāsa's description of the ocean at the beginning of the thirteenth canto of *Raghuvamśa* is a distinct improvement on Bhāsa's. But he imitates closely the author of *Abhishekanāṭaka*, as regards the style and beginning of every line of verse with ~~अस्मि~~ in the stanzas 19, 54, 55, 56 and 57 of the thirteenth canto of his *Raghuvamśa*, where Rama describes to his beloved consort the progress of his aerial car, and later on in inimitable language the beauty of the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamunā

The inscriptions of the Gupta period, which are about eighteen in number are written mostly in verse but partly also in elevated prose. They cover a period of two centuries from 350 to 550 A. D. Several of them are *prasastis* or panegyrics or kings. They prove that their poetic style is similar to that of classical ~~languages~~. ~~Harishena's~~ Harishena's panegyric on Samudragupta, consisting of thirty lines of poetry and about

thirty lines of prose shows a mastery of style rivaling that of Kalidasa—(examples quoted see p 98ff) Harishena's prose is full of long compounds according to the rule of Sanskrit Poetics His poetry like Kalidasa's follows the Vaidarbha style An inscription composed by poet Vatsabhatti in 473 A D (see p 39ff) found at Mandasor, shows the author's imitation of Kalidasa's *Ritusamhara* and *Meghaduta* ¹ This inscription proves that Kalidasa flourished prior to 473 A D There are, of course, several earlier inscriptions, for example, that of Skandagupta, Parnadatta and Chakrapalita of 457-58 A D, where there is a description of the rainy season and of rivers as mistresses of the ocean going to meet their lord, the sea, which reminds one of the *Ritusamhara* of Kalidasa The prose of Harishena is more artificial than that of Rudradaman's Girnar inscription of the second century A D, though long compounds, alliteration, metaphors and similes are common to both The date of Harishena's inscription, which describes Samudragupta's conquests cannot be earlier than 350 A D The similarities of the style of the poetical part of this inscription to that of the *kavyas* and lyrics of Kalidasa, and of the achievements of Raghu, the Kings of Magadha and Avanti, Kus'a and Atithi, to those of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumaragupta I and Skandagupta, lead to the conclusion that Kali-

1 Jināsena, the preceptor of Amoghavarsha, King of Mālakhera, Hyderabad Deccan) from 815 to 877 A. D. based his *Pāraśvābhyudaya* on *Kālidāsa's Meghaduta*.

dasa most likely flourished during the period 385 to 460 A D,

The Kavyas of Kalidasa

The Ritusamhara or the collection or bringing to gether of seasons is most likely the first work of Kalidasa. It consists of one hundred and fifty two stanzas, and is divided into six cantos, each describing a particular season of the Indian year. The Poet gives here a glowing description of the beauties of nature in varying metres to his Beloved—

Summer is first of all described—

प्रचण्डसूर्योऽसृष्टणीयचन्द्रमा सदावगाह्यतवारिस्रवम् ।
 दिनान्तरम्योऽभ्युपशान्तमन्मथोनिदाघकालोऽसमुपागत प्रिये ॥
 निशा शशाङ्कतनीलराज्यं कचिद्विचित्रं जलयन्तमन्दिरम् ।
 मणिप्रकाराः सरसश्च चन्दनं, शुचौ प्रिये । यान्ति जनस्य मेघ्यताम् ॥
 सुवासितं हर्म्यतलं मनोहरं प्रयासुखोष्णसचिकम्पितं मयु ।
 सुतन्त्रिगीतं मदनस्य दीपनं, शुचौ निक्षीयेऽनुभवन्ति कामिनः ॥

(Summer 1 to 3)

(Now is the time of heat ! a raging sun
 Burns through the day, till pleasant night,
 Cool and refreshing spreads its sable veil
 The sleeping surface of limpid pools¹

¹ Continual bathing gently lowers the water in the pool
 (T K R)

Is oft disturbed by plunging bathers, faint
With heat, with amorous dalliance tired

Behold the shades of night, pierced by the rays
Of many a star, and there the spotted moon
Shines on you palace, through whose portals wide
The watered khas-khas sheds its sweet perfume,
While languid maidens, decked with shining gems,
Disclose their beauties, courting the cool air

Within the marble halls, ambrosial gales,
Of all sweet odours, ravish every heart,
While brimming cups, high crowned with sparkling
wine,

Inflame the souls, deep-pierced by Kama's darts
These are the joys that suit the sultry months,
That tender lovers taste at midnight's hour)—S J

আসিল নিদাঘ, প্রিয়ে, রৌদ্র ভয়ঙ্কর,
স্নান-কীর্ণ বারি, আর প্রিয় শশিকব ।
সন্ধ্যা রমণীয় হয় এই গ্রীষ্মকালে,
প্রশান্ত কামীর মর্ম সকলোঁতে বলে ॥
জোছনভূষিত নিশি, জলকঁক গৃহ,
শীতলশর্প-বিকীরাজি সবস চন্দন,
এই সব উপভোগ্য ভূঞ্জে যদি কেহ,
স্থখেতে বাপরে, প্রিয়ে, নিদাঘ সে জন ॥
স্ববাসিত রম্য ইন্দ্র্য প্রিবা মুখ মধু,
ত'নলয়সমাস্তত স গাত-শ্রবণ ।
তটিকালে এই সব কামী-জন শীঘ্র
স্থখেতে কবয়ে তাবা মিশার বাপন ॥

Then follows a description of girls beautifying themselves with fine cloths, ornaments, sandal paste and other fragrant substances to attract their lovers, and resting in moonlit nights on the roofs of white-washed mansions, which become resonant with appropriate music

The anima's of the forest feel the effects of heat—

मृगा प्रचण्डातपतापिता भृश, तृषा महत्या परिशुष्कतालव ।
वनान्तरे तापमिति प्रचाविता, निरीक्ष्य भिक्षाजनसन्निभञ्ज ॥

तृषा महत्या हतविक्रमोद्यम श्वसन्मुहुर्दूरविदारिबानन ।
नहन्यदूरेऽपि गजान् मृगेधरो, विलोलजिह्व स्तलितप्रकेसर ॥

Summer—11 and 14

(Faint with the heat, the graceful young gazelle,
With tongue all dry with thirst, seeks turbid pools,
Leaving his native woods, with nostril spread
And head high raised he views the gathering
clouds,

Which all the sky obscure, like painted eyes
Of beauteous damsels stained of Kohl's dark hue

His force and courage spent, the king of beasts,
Urged by a raging thirst—with muzzle seamed
With many a wound, faint, with hanging tongue,
And mane disordered floating o'er its head,—
Fails to attack the elephant, its prey,
Who near it stands unnoticed and secure)—S J

প্রচণ্ড আতপ তাপে শিন্ন হৃগবুল,
পরিপ্লব তালু এরা তুষায় আকুল ।
অরণ্যে ভ্রমণ কবে বাবি-আশ্ববণে,
মেঘ তিন্ন নীলাকাশ জলাশয় গণে ॥

বিক্রম হয়েছে স্কুল সি হেব তুষার
মুহূৰ্হ মুখ হতে ঝাস বাহিবার ।
বিলোল বসনা তাব কম্পিত কেশব,
সন্নিহিত গজে নাহি বধে পশুবব ॥

Peacocks protect themselves from the heat of the sun with their expanded tails The condition of boars, frogs, fishes, snakes, buffaloes, birds and monkeys, which have become enfeebled by heat, is graphically described The wind is scattering death on nature, both animate and inanimate like fire But the banks of tanks full of lotuses and other fragrant flowers specially in moonlit nights are really enjoyable

The close heat is succeeded by the royal Rainy Season, which is ushered by its army of dark heavy clouds like infuriated elephants, by its banner of lightning flashes and by its music of thunder roll —

স্বর্গীকরাম্ভোজরমন্তকুঞ্জরস্তম্ভিত-পতাকাশ্চেন্নিশান্দমর্দিত ।
সমাগতৌ রাজবহুবলজু তির্ঘনাগম কামিজনমিত্ব, শিবে । ॥

(বাবি বিন্দু পূর্ণ মেঘ উন্নত বাবণ,
বিদ্যুৎ পতাকা, বাহু জলদ গর্জন,
বরষা বিলাসী-প্রিয়, অদম্য প্রভায়
হয়ে সমর্ষিত, প্রিয়ে, আসে নৃপ-জায় ।)

The rain advances like a king
 In awful majesty¹
 Hear, Dearest, how his thunders ring
 Like royal drums, and see
 His lightning banners wave, a cloud
 For elephant he rides,
 And finds his welcome from the crowd
 Of lovers and of brides —T K R

Peacocks with beautiful expanded feather attract their mates by their dances Rivers with their mure muddy water uprooting trees in their warron fury rush to their lover—the sea Newly sprung green grasses and spiavs adorn the mouths of deer Ele phants roar in delight, and bees taste the sweet secre- tions of their cheeks Various kinds of flowers are plucked by girls to decorate themselves, so that they may captivate their lovers The season itself plays the part of a gallant—

শিরসি বকুলমালা মালতীমি সমেতা,
 বিকসিতবনপুষ্পৈর্যুথিকাকুটমলেষ ।
 বিককখনবকদম্বৈ কর্ণপূর বধূনা
 রময়তি জলদীঘ কাস্তবৎ কাল পৃথ ॥

(Rains 24)

(প্রাবৃট অসিরা রচে প্রিয়তমা-কেশে,
 জাতী যুধী বনকুল বকুলের হার,
 পন্নায় প্রিয়াকে তাব, প্রিয়তম-বেশে,
 বিকসিতজনবনীপ কর্ণ অলঙ্কার ॥)

(This is the month that in its escort brings
The rolling clouds, which lover like prepare
The crowns of bakula, with jasmin twined
To adorn the head—and new blown flowers,
Kadamba ear rings, plucked by youthful brides,
And half closed Yuthikas with drooping heads)

—S J

The next season is Autumn—

काशाशुक्लविकचपद्मनोज्ञवक्त्रा
सोन्मादहसरवनूपुरनादरम्या ।
आपकशालिरुचिरा तनुगात्रयष्टि
प्राप्ता शरच्चवबधूरिव रूपरम्या ॥
काशैर्महा, शिशिरदीधितिसिना रजनयो
ह सैजलानि सरिता कुमुदै सरासि ।
सप्तच्छदै कुसुमभारनतैवनान्ता
शुक्लीकृतान्युपवनानि च मालतीभि ॥

—(Autumn—1 and 2)

(श्रुते पद्म नरे। काशा शुक्ल पवित्रिः।
ममन्त इ. स ध्वनि-नूपुर शोभिः।
पद्म कल शालि देर वष्टि मृगठेन,
पद्म आसिल नववधूव मत्तन ॥
काश पुष्प अलङ्कृता वस्त्रवा मोहिनी,
नील-वस्त्रि विभूषिता ध्वनि वाहिनी ॥
इ स माला विवाज्जम् नदीचय नीले,
कुमुदिनी शोभा देव अछ सवोवत्त ॥

সম্পূর্ণ পুষ্পভারে নবিত কানন,

মান্তী হুহান সিত দন স্বাশাভন ।)

Her lotus face with full blown kāsās clad,
Clinking her anklets with a joyful sound,
‘Midst amorous songs of swans, and in her hand,
Holding a wand of half ripe rice, on which
Her finely moulded limbs lean for support—
Behold the Autumn comes like lovely bride
With brilliant kāsās all meadows smile
And nights are fresh with dew, on all the streams,
Float graceful swans and on each tank
The verdant water lily now bend the trees
Weighed down by clustering Saptachchhadas, ¹
With jasmine snow, are all the gardens white

—S J

Rivers now flow gently, being adorned with the restless little sāfai fish white swans, and green banks The cloud patches above are of various beautiful colours The night wears its cloth of moon light and its ornaments of stars Women adorn themselves in this season with various ornaments, sanda' paste and flowers This is the season of jasmine, lotus, vandhuka, kuruvaka, kadamba, kah lra, lily and asōka flowers Also—

দ্যামালতা কুসুমভারনতপ্রবাল

স্নীগা হরন্তি ঘৃতমূষণবাডুকান্তিঃ ।

অশ্রাবভাসবিশদসিতকন্দুকান্তি,

কঙ্কেলিপুষ্পরুচিরা নবমালিকাভা ॥ —(Autumn—18).

I Called also Saptaparna (in Bengu Chhatima) —a tree having seven leaves on a stalk—Echites Scholaris—V W

(The violet creepers, bending under flowers,
Eclipse, O fair ones, e'en thy rounded arms,
Adorned with gems , and charming lips,
Set off by whiteness of the loveliest teeth,
Must own themselves effaced and overcome
By new blown jasmine and Asoka's flower, —S J

(পুষ্প ভাবে অবনতা হতে গ্রামা লতা,
শোভে বেন অলঙ্কৃত বামা বাহুলতা ।
কক্কলি শোভিতা নবমালিকা সুন্দরী
বিরাজয় চন্দ্রমুখ হাস্য কান্তি হবি ॥)

Then comes Hemanta or winter in which rice ripens, lotuses disappear, snow falls, lodhras blossom, and kraunchas fill the sky with their cry This is the season, when lovers enjoy each other's company There is too much of sensuality in the description of this and the two following seasons But beautiful similes are not rare—

पाकं व्रजन्ती हिमसङ्गृहीतै राधूयमाना मत्तत मरुद्भि ।

पिबे । पियङ्गुपिथविपूत्रुक्ता विपाण्डुता या ते विलासिनीव ॥

(Hemanta—10)

[Then the Priyangu creeper, reaching ripeness,
Buffeted constantly by chilling breezes,
Grows, O Beloved, ever pale and paler,
Like lonely maiden from her lover parted]—S L

(প্রিয়ঙ্গুলতিকা হিম মৰুৎ-সংগৃহীতৈ,
শ্যাব-বর্ণ প্রাপ্ত হুয়ে ঘন ঘন দোলে ,
কথা প্রিয়বিভ্রান্তোগে বিবাদিত মন,
পাণ্ডুৰ্ণ দেহ নারী ককেন ধারণ ॥

In the Śisīra or dewy season or early spring,
rice and sugarcane abound, and fire the sun's rays
and closed rooms are in great request—

पूरुडशाली मुचयाग्रनक्ति सुखस्थितकौञ्चनिनादशोभितम् ।

पूकामकाम पूमदाजनपिय वरोक । काल शिशिराङ्गय मृणु ॥

—(Śisīra—1).

(Now Dearest, lend a heedful ear
And listen while I sing
Delights to every maiden dear,
The charms of early spring,
When earth is dotted with the neaps
Of corn, when heron scream¹
Is rare but sweet, (when passion leaps
And paints a livelier dream) —T. K. R

(शोभनाङ्गि कुन एव शिशिव वर्णन

भोग्य दृष्ट पविपूर्ण प्रान्त-नग्न,

हेकु शालि-धान्य कवे निति आदव

सुख-स्थित-कौञ्च नादे श्वनित भूवा ।)

The moon beam is now cold, and the light of stars
pale This season is the torment of those who are
separated from their lovers

The spring, the last and best of seasons, is des-
cribed by the poet at great length—

पूडुल्लवृताङ्कुरतीक्ष्णसायको द्विरेफमालाविलसद्गुण ।

मनासि मेतु सुरतपसङ्गिना वसन्तयोध समुपगत पिये । ॥ Spring 1

1 Lit the cry of kraunchas from their snug nests beautifies the season.

[Behold the warrior of Spring approach
Pointing his arrows with bright mango flowers,
Whose bowstring's formed of rows of clustering bees,
To wound all hearts, O loved one, with desire]—

S J

[আশিল বসন্ত-ঋতু স্নানবেশে সাজ,
প্রেমিক-মানসে তাব উজ্জ্বল শব বাজ,
বিকসিত চূতাক্ষৰ মাৰবেশে বাণ,
ধ্বংসৰ্গ তাব হয় ভ্রমৰ বিতান]

This is the season of beautiful flowers—karnikaras, navamallikas as'okas, kims'ukas, kundas, madhavis, champakas and mango blossoms which fill breezes with their rich fragrance The humming of intoxicated bees and the songs of cuckoos fill the air with sweet music Girls appear very attractive in their fine cloths, ornaments of flowers and sandalpaste figures on their persons

आन्नीमञ्जुलमञ्जरीवरशर सत्केशुक यद्गुर्जग

यस्यालिकुल कलङ्करहित छत्र सिताशु सितम् ।

मत्तमोमलयानिल परभृतो यद्वन्दिनो लोकजित्

सोढ्य वो तरीतरीतु वितनुर्भद्र वसन्ताम्बित ॥ —(Spring—28)

(Whose arrows fine sweet mango-blossoms make ,
The form of whose bow good kims'ukas take ,
The string of whose bow is the swarm of bees ,
The lunar orb his white umbrella is ,
Whose angry elephants are southern winds ,
Whose eulogists sweet one in cuckoos finds ,
May the World-conqueror whom Spring attends,
To each of you make hearty love-amends)

(শব চূড়-মঞ্জরী, কি শুক পবাসন,
 ধূসরীয়া দ্রাক্ষসর সিং ছত্র শশী,
 বলয় অনিল - ব প্রমত্ত বান্ধ,
 পিক ব'ব স্বচি ৭, ৮ বৃক্ষশাখা বসি।
 বসন্ত-সহায় চিনি নানা তাঁব দ্বব,
 বসন্ত চটক (—, এউ (দন বব)

Here as in the other works of the Poet are exhibited his deep sympathy with Nature, his power of accurate observation and his skill in describing graphically the beautiful sights and the melodious music of nature. It has been pointed out (see p 39) that Vatsabhatti used this poem in his inscription "The comparative simplicity of the Poem," says Dr Keith, "explains at once why no early commentaries are known, and why the writers on Poetics do not cite from it to illustrate their rules. The poem by its lack of elaborate art appeals more strongly to modern taste. It is perfectly true that it falls short of the later poems in depth of poetic insight and feeling"¹ It should be remembered that it is the first adventure of Kalidasa in the realm of literature. Naturally he is bound by the convention of his day and follows Vatsayana and the poets of his time in interweaving erotic scenes with the beauties of nature.

That Ritusamhara, though showing signs of immaturity, for example the paucity of similes and good poetry, is the work of Kalidasa, cannot be denied. As

Dr Keith says, if we compare Tennyson's earliest poem like *Claribel* with his *Princess* or *In Memoriam* it is difficult for us to realise that both have been written by the same hand

That the hill like a noble minded man gives shelter to the refugee, is found both in *Kumarasambhavam* (I—12) and *Ritusamhara* (Rains—27). There is a similar sentiment in the seventeenth verse of the *Meghaduta* (see p 108) We may compare also the description of Spring in *Ritusamhara* and *Kumarasambhavam* (K S—III—25 to 32) Mango-blossoms, karnikaras, as'okas, bees, sprays and cuckoos are common to both Mango blossoms are mentioned in the description of the season of spring eight times by the Poet in his *Ritusamhara* Ratī requests the God of Spring to offer to the spirit of her dead husband sprays with mango blossoms, of which, she says, he was very fond (K S—IV—38) Mango-blossoms are said to be the best of spring flowers in the *Kumarasambhavam* (I—27) Spring, the companion of the God of Love, carries always mango-blossoms in his hand (K S—II—64) The Poet uses ~~ह्रिये~~ for *bhramaras* in both the poems Spring is Love's companion (R S Spring—28 and K S—III—10) Flowers imitate the smiles of beautiful lips (K S—I—44, and R S—Autumn—18). There is a close resemblance between the description of summer in the *Ritusamhara* (~~पादकामोदकं सुखसहितं निवे~~) and that in *Prelude to the Abhijnana-Sakuntalam* (~~सुखसहितं निवे~~), both of which refer to bathing in pleasant water and breezes redolent with the

fragrance of Patala flowers The similarity is very close between the description of Autumn in the fourth canto of Raghuvamsam and that in Ritusamhara : white kis'ā flowers, bright moonlight rows of swans, water full of kumudā flowers s'ilī paddy, transparent water and śaptaparna flowers occur in both The image of a newly married girl (badhu) is introduced in the description of autumn in Ritusamhara (1 and 2) and of Spring in Raghuvamsa (IX—34) There is much resemblance between the description of summer in Ritusamhara and that in the sixteenth canto of Raghuvamsam pātala flowers, wearing of necklaces and fine clothes diminution of water in tanks, use of sandalpaste and artificial cooling of rooms are to be found in both Such resemblances between Ritusamhara and the other works of the Poet may be multiplied (See also J R A S 1912, p p 1066 ff, 1913, pp 410 ff)

Kumarasambhavam.

The luxuriance, glow and wantonness of the youthful imagination of the Poet are visible also in his epic poem, Kumarasambhavam or the birth of Kumara, Kartikeya or the God of War, the incidents of which are mainly derived from the Skandapurana.

Mahes'vara Khanda, Chapters XX to XXX, and from Lingapur na Book I, Chapter CI to CIII

This work is divided into seventeen cantos. The first canto begins with a grand description of the Himalayas, which stretch from the eastern to the western sea and appear as the earth's measuring-yard. Snow has not been able to destroy the beauty of this mountain. It is the abode of precious minerals and herbs and also of Vidyadharas and Kinnaris (See also p 145)

A daughter named Parvati or Uma is born to the God of the Mountain and his wife Menaka. Her surpassing beauty shows itself, as she grows from childhood to youth —

उन्मीलित तूलिकयेव चित्तं, सूर्या शुभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् ।
बभूव तस्याश्रुतुरशशोभि, वपुर्विमल नवयौवनेन ॥

पुष्प प्रबालोपहित यदि स्थान्मुक्ताफल वा स्फुटविद्रुमस्थम् ।
ततोऽनुकुर्व्याद्विशदस्य तस्यास्त्रात्रौष्ठपर्यस्तद्वच स्तितस्य ॥
खरेण तस्याममृतक्षुतेव, पूजस्मितायामभिजातवाचि ।
अप्यनगुप्य प्रतिकूलशब्दा श्रोतुर्वितन्वीरिव ताड्यमाना ॥

(K S —1—32, 44, 45)

(As pictures waken to the painter's brush
Or lilies open to the morning sun
Her perfect beauty answered to the flush
Of womanhood, when childish days were done
* * * * *

Suppose a blossom on a leafy spray
Suppose a pearl on a spotless coral laid

Such was the smile, pure, radiantly gay,
 That round her red red lips for ever played
 And when she spoke, the music of her tale
 Was sweet, the music of her voice to suit,
 Till listeners felt as if the nighlingale¹
 Had grown discordant like a jangled lute

—T K R

তুলিকায় নো স্তম্ভ, আলোক-ভঙ্গন
 ভাষুকাব বিকসিত। নেন বদলিনী,
 শিখিল-তায় প্রকাশ-ধ্বনি,
 চুবন্ত-শোভা ধাব দেহ-ঐক্যনি।

নবপত্রোপবি বদি কুস্তম্ব-ধবল,
 ফুট প্রবালের গায় শোভা মস্ত-ফল
 বক্সবর্ণ উমা ও ঠ সি-বদ-হাস,
 অলুকাব কব-তব সাম-প্রকাশ।

শধুব-বাণিনী উমা-দি কিছু ভাস,
 অমৃত-বাব। নেন জলার প্রবোধ,
 তাব তুলনাতো কুহ কোকিলের ধনি,
 বর্ষণ বিভক্তী বীণা স্বব সম গণি।।)

Nirada, the messenger of gods, says to her father that she is destined to be the wife of Mahes'vara, who is absorbed on the mountain top in spiritual meditation, and whom in compliance with her father's request she serves ardently with flowers and other offerings. S'iva does not object to the beautiful Uma's attending upon him for —

पूतार्थिभूतामपि ता समाधे , शुश्रूषमाणा गिरिशोऽनुमेने ।

विकारहेतौ सति विक्रियन्ते येषा न चेतासि त एव धीरा ॥

(K S—I—59)

(The hermit welcomed with a courteous brow
That gentle enemy of hermit vow
The still pure breast where contemplation dwells
Defies the charmer and the charmer's spells,
Calm and unmoved he viewed the wondrous maid,
And bade her all his pious duties aid)—G

(षष्ठिः समाधि विग्र-काविणी पार्श्वती

तव ताव सेवा नहिलेन पञ्चपति,—

विकारव ह्यसुखे अवीर ये नहे,

अरुण श्मीव वीर तांशकेहै कहे ॥) —R L B

In the second canto we find the gods headed by Indra request Brahma to devise means for destroying the demon Taraka, who has usurped the sovereignty of Indra. Brahma says in reply that as the prosperity of the demon is due to his blessing, it is not right that he should be the cause of his destruction —

विषवृक्षोऽपि सर्वार्थं स्वयं हेतुमसाम्पृतम् ।

(K S—II—55)

(And well ye know that e'en a poisonous tree
By him who planted it, unharmed should be)—G

He adds that only a son born to Śiva can be his slayer

In the third canto Indra requests the God of Love to proceed with his wife Ratī and the Season of Spring to the place where Śiva is practising Yoga, which has made him proof against the divine charms of

Uma, and to hurl his arrows at him, which Manmatha promises to do. The precincts of the hermitage of S'iva now become filled with all the sweet sights and sounds and other appurtenances of spring, which are bound to rouse the emotion of love even in the heart most insusceptible. Now follows a grand description of the greatest ascetic in the particular Yoga attitude called Vir sana. Uma is present before him with all her celestial charms enhanced by the ornaments of flowers, which she has been wearing. The God of Love deeming this to be most opportune moment, hurls his love arrows against S'iva, who becomes a little restless and looks at the beautiful girl before him, but he becomes indignant when he finds out Kandarpa with his bow ready to discharge more arrows towards him and burns him with the fire of anger proceeding from his third eye. Uma being ashamed retires with two wood nymphs, who are her companions—

मैकालमजापि पितुश्चिरसोऽभिलाष, व्यर्थं समध्य ललित वपुरात्मनः ।

सख्यो समक्षमिति चाधिकजातलज्जा, शून्या जगाम भवनाभिमुखी कथञ्चित् ।

K S—III 75

(Sad was Himilaya's daughter, grief and shame
O'er the young spirit of the maiden came
Grief—for she loved, and all her love was vain,
Shame—she was spurned before her youthful train
She turned away, with fear and woe oppressed,
To hide her sorrow in her father's breast.) —G

उग्रतु नितात्र आश, मकन ह्येन नाश,

मनित मावथा गर्स ह्येन विगत,

জানিল সঙ্কীর্ণীস্বর তাহে নজ্ঞ। অতিশয়,

গ্রাহ্যত চন্দ্রিণী গৌরী হায় আশীত। —R L B

The fourth canto begins with the returning consciousness of Ratī who has fainted on account of the sudden calamity which has befallen her. Her lament is very touching like that of Aja for his wife Indumatī in the Raghuvamsa—

কৃতবানসি বিপ্লব ন মে, পুতিকূল ন চ তে ময়া কৃতম্ ।

কিমকারণমেব দর্শন, বিলপন্যৈ রতয়ে ন দীযতে । —K S—IV 7

(আমাব অপ্রিয় কভু, কব নাই তুমি প্রভু,

আমিও তা কবিনি কথা

তবে কেন অকাবণ, কাদাইছ এতক্ষণ,

বতিবে না দেহ দবণন ।)—R L B

(Thou never didst a thing to cause me anguish ,

I never did a thing to work thee harm ,

Why should I thus in vain affliction languish ?

Why not return to bless thy grieving Charm¹ ?)

—T K R

Later on when Vasanta, the God of Spring, comes to console her, she says to her departed husband—

অপি সম্প্রতি দেহি দর্শন সখ । পশ্যু'তসু কো পুষ মাধব ।

দখিতাস্বনবস্থিত নৃণা ন সখ্যু পু'ম চল সুহৃজনে ॥

(K S—IV 28)

(Now come my Kama, Spring, who was so dear,

Longs to behold thee Oh appear, appear !

Fickle to women, Love perchance may bend

His ear to listen to a faithful friend)—G

(এস গৃহ মীনবেলু তন নবং - হতু
মাধব মনস চঞ্চল,
পূবধের নাবী প্রতি, কতু নত সন বতি,
বন্ধ জন প্রণয় অটল) —R L B

—and then to he husband s companion—

গত এব ন তে নিবর্ত্তে, স সস্তা দীপ ইবানিলাহব ।
অহমস্য দ্বেষে পহ্য মামবিষয়স্যসনে নুমিতাম্ ॥

(K S —IV 30)

(But Love is gone, far gone beyond returning
A candle nuffed by wandering breezes vain ,
And see ! I am his wick, with love once burning,
Now blackened by the smoke of nameless pain)

T K R

(বাতাহত দীপমত সে সন ইহেন হত
বাধিত নানিন তুরি ভান
দেখ নশা নশাশ্রুত, পাত আছি আমি তার ।
তন শোক ধ্রুবে নকলব ।) —R L B

She decides to follow her husband and burn her
self on his funeral pyre for—

শশিনা সহ যতি কৌমুদী সহ মেবেন তন্নি পূরীয়তে ।
পূমদা পতিবর্ন্মা ইতি, পুতিপন্ন হি বিবেতনৈরিপি ॥

(K S —IV 33)

(The mourning lotus dies,
When the bright Moon, her lover quits the skies
When sinks the red cloud in her purple west,
Still clings his bride, the lightning, to his breast

All nature keeps the eternal high decree
Shall woman fail ?) —G

শশি দাব অস্ত বায়, জ্যোত্স্না তার সঙ্গে বায়,
মেঘ সহ উড়িৎ প্রমাণ,
পতি-পথ পবা সতী, পতি ভিন্ন নাহি গতি
অভ্যন্তরঃ দিগ্ভ্রু প্রমাণ ।)—R L B

Now a heavenly voice tells her that she should
wait for her husband, who will be revived by Siva
himself after his marriage with Umā—

अथ मदनधूरुपप्लवान्त व्यसनकृशा परिपालयाम्भूव ।
शशिन इव दिवातनस्य लेखा, किरणपरिक्षयधूमरा पदोषम् ॥

—K S—IV—46

(Cheered by that voice from heaven, the mourner's
heart,
Who watched away the hours, so sad and slow,
That brought the limit of her weary woe
As the pale moon, quenched by the conquering
light
Of garish day, longs for its own dear night)

G —p 52

অত পর অবদারী লাবণ্য লহরী হাবা,
ভাবে কবে বাইবে ব্যসন ।
বধা কীণা চন্দ্র লেখা, দিবাভাগ দিয়া দেখা
চিন্তে কবে নিশা-আগমন ॥

In the fifth canto Parvatī realising the inefficacy
of her charms in winning Siva for her husband,
proceeds with the consent of her parents, given with

much reluctance, to practise austerities quite inconsistent with the charms of her youth—

क ईप्सितार्थस्थिरनिश्चय मन पयश्च निम्नाभिमुख प्रतीपयेत् ॥

(K S—v 5)

(Who can hinder a downward rushing stream and a mind bent on realising a cherished object)

She gives up all luxuries, puts on a bark dress, wounds her tender limbs with cutting the keen edged grass equal for worship, ceases to count beads and sleeps on the bare ground. Her uncombed hair becomes tangled and—

पुनर्ग्रीवि नितमस्यक ॥ इय,पि निशेष इवार्पित इयम् ।

लतासु तन्वीसु ब्रহ্মক্ষেপিত বিকীরহৃষ্টি হরিণাঙ্গনাসু च ॥

—K S—v—13

(She pledging her graceful movements with delicate creepers and love glances with the females of deer for the time being, subjects herself to rigorous discipline)

(কুশাদী লতাত উমা বিন্দন চেষ্টন,

মৃগ অঙ্গনাতে তাব চপল প্রেক্ষণ,

তপস্ত নিবর্তা তি নি কবেন স্থাপন ,

গ্রহিবেন পুন যাব হবে প্রয়োজন ।)

Her dress and her life in the hermitage resemble to some extent those of Sākuntalā on the banks of the Mahanī. After sometime an ascetic wearing a deer skin with his hair plaited and his countenance beaming with spiritual light, comes to the hermitage and says to Uma—

अपि क्रियार्थं सुलभं समित्कुशं जलानपि स्नानविधिकमाणि ते ।
अपि स्वशक्त्या तपसि प्रवर्त्तसे, शरीरमाद्यं खलु धर्म्मसाधनम् ॥

K S —V—38

(Are the sacred grass and fuel available here for your sacrifices ? Are you able to find here sufficient water for your ablutions ? Do you practise austerities according to your capacity ? The primary religious means, you should remember, is health)

(সমিধ ও কুশ তব কল্পিত যজন,
জলান বাবি পাও তুমি যথা প্রযোজন ?
শক্তি অনুসারে কিবা তপ আচরণ ?
স্বস্থ দেহ, জেনো, মুখ্য ধর্ম্মের সাধন ।)

He adds that it is not befitting that a young and beautiful girl like her should practise austerities, and when her companions tell him that she has been doing so for inducing S'iva to marry her, the Brahmachari replies that the ascetic S'iva is too hideous for a graceful girl like Uma and adds—

इयञ्च तेऽन्या पुरतो विदुस्त्वना यदुद्धया वारणराजहार्त्यया ।
विलोक्य वृद्धोक्षमधिष्ठित त्वया महाजन स्मेरमुखो भविष्यति ॥

(K S —V-70)

(A royal bride returning in thy state,
The king of elephants should bear thy weight
How wilt thou brook the mockery and the scorn,
When thou on S'iva's bull art meanly borne ? —G)

(বিবাহেব দেখি আর এক বিডম্বনা,
গজেন্দ্র-বাহন তব যোগ্য ববাননা ।

বৃদ্ধ ব্রাহ্মণবি তোমা কবি দলজন,

শ্রবণান হাত থাকি হত সাদৃশ্য)—R L B

The Brahman says further that none knows S'iva's parentage (অলঙ্কারজন্মতা) and his nakedness indicates his wealth (দিগম্বরত্বেন নিবেদিত বস্তু)—K S—V

72 He then concludes by saying—

বরষু যদ্বালমৃগাশ্চি । মৃগ্যতে তদসি কি ব্যস্তমপি সিলোচনে ?

(K S—V 72)

[O Fawn-eyed lady, is any one of those good things which people expect to find in a (worthy) bridegroom present in S'iva ?]

(ববে বরানন । শত্রু চাক জনগণে,

কিছুই কি আছে তাহা সেই জিহ্বাচান ?)—R L B

Parvati becomes irritated and says that only ignorant men speak of the great God in this manner. He does not need any adornments and appurtenances for—

বিপদপ্রতীকারপরেণ মঙ্গল নিষেব্যতে মূর্তিমমুৎসুকেন বা ।

জগচ্চরণস্য নিরাশিষ সত কিমেমিরাশোপহৃতাঙ্গমুত্তিমি ॥

(K S—V 76)

(Those who want to avert perils or those who aspire after worldly pomp are in need of such auspicious means But—

The world's Sole Refuge neither hopes nor fears
Nor seeks the objects of a small desire)—T K R

(বিপদ বাবণে কিবা ঐশ্বর্য লভন,

অশেষ মাতুলিক আশাষি জন ।

उ० १०० ॥ निनि २००० ॥

किं कविवे ताव द्रव्य का ॥ १००० ॥

When the Br hman is about to say something more, Uma add e ses her companion and tells her—

निवार्यतामालि । किन्प्यय वदु पुनर्विवक्षु स्फुरितोत्तराधर ।

न केवल यो महताऽपभापत नृणोति तस्मान्पि य स पापभाक् ॥

—K S—V 83

(Dear maiden ! Lid von erget boy depart ,
Why should the slanderous tale defile his heart ?
Most guilty who the faithless speech begins,
But he who stays to listen also sins)—G

(१००० विमान पुन श्रुदित अवव

वदु कदु ताव सधि । नववर्ग नव

महाया निम्नक श्रु ताव । तागो,

(म० मोयो ये जन अवगे श्रुवगो ॥)—R L B

As Uma is going to leave the place the Brahman who is none other than Siva himself, assumes his own form and intercepts her—

त वीक्ष्य वेपथुमती सरसाश्चष्टि

निक्षेपणाय पदमुद्धृतमुद्रहन्ती ।

मार्गाचलम्य तकराकुलितेव स्फु

लौलाधिराजतनया न ययौ न तस्थौ ॥

अथ प्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि । तवास्मिदास ,

क्रीतस्तपोभिरिति वादिनि चन्द्रमौलौ ।

अद्यापि सा नियमज क्लममुत्सर्ज

केश फलेन हि पुनर्नवता विधत्ते ॥(K S—V 85 86)

(She saw, she trembled, like a ree's course,
Checked for a moment in its onward force,
By some unseen power amid the torrent hurled,
Where erst the foaming waters malk curled,
One foot upheld, shall she turn away
Unmoved the other shall the muden stay '
The silver moon on Siva's forehead shone,
While he spake the God in gracious tone,
O Garuda! be my wife and true companion,
Lo, now I be lieve in the sweet count of,
Won by the penance and the holy vow
Thy willing Siva! love thee more
He spake, and raising the old, in her languid frame
At his dear words strength and vigour came
She knew but that all her cares were o'er,
Her sorrow and her sorrow's sleep no more!—G

He then sends the seven sages and Arundhati (wife of Vasiṣṭha, one of the sages) to the God of the Himalayas to ask him to consent to his marriage with his daughter Siva chooses Arundhati as one of the party for—

প্রায়নৈববিধে কার্য্যে পুরন্দ্রীণা প্রগল্ভতা । (K S—VI 32)

(In such business—marriage negotiations—the cleverness of matrons is always shown) They make the proposal to the mountain god to which he after consulting his wife Menaka agrees—

শেল সম্পূর্ণকামোঃপি মেনামুখমুদৈকত ।

প্রায়েণ গৃহিণীনেতা কন্যার্থেণু কুদুম্বিন ॥

(K S—VI 85)

[Though the mountain god was very willing to give his consent, yet he looked at his wife to ascertain her opinion, for the head of a family always consults his wife regarding the interests of their daughters]

(যদিও সম্পূর্ণ কাম, তবু গিবি গুণ বাস

মেনকাব মুখ পাঠে চান

কন্যা-কার্য্য প্রয়োজনে প্রায় দেখি গৃহী গণে

গৃহিণীবি বিধান প্রধান ।)—R L B

Gauri who happens to be with her father at the time when the proposal is being made, though evidently delighted, looks downwards and passes her time in counting the petals of toy lotuses—

কীলকমলপত্নি গণয়ামাস পার্শ্বাঙ্গী—(K S—VI 84)

In the seventh canto after the day of the marriage has been fixed, the parents of Gauri are des-

cribed as bestowing their most loving attention on her, who is going to leave them soon. The arrangements for the nuptials are made on a grand scale. The beautiful Uma, is adorned with the greatest care. One of her friends while besmearing her feet with alaktaka (lac dye) humorously remarks that her feet should touch the moon crest on her husband's head, and is struck by Uma playfully with her garland—

পল্যু ছিরশ্চন্দ্রকলামনেন, সৃষ্টেতি সল্যা পরিহাসপূর্ণম্ ।

সা রঞ্জয়িত্বা ধরণৌ কৃতাসীমাল্যেন তা নিবচন জবান ॥

(K S—VII 19)

(‘ Lay this dear foot upon thy lover’s head
Crowned with the moon, the laughing maiden said,
Who dyed her lady’s feet—no word spake she
But beat her with her wreath in playful glee)—G

(অলঙ্ক বস্ত্রন কবি আবদ্ধ চব্বাণ

আশীর্বাদ কাব সী, বহুস্তবচন,

“ইথে প্রহাষিও পতি-শিব শশীকল ”

তিনি তাঁর কুল হাবে প্রহাষ বিমলা ॥) R L B

As Menaka is agitated by the mingled feeling of joy on account of her daughter’s marriage and sorrow for her losing her, and her eyes are filled with tears, she can neither paint properly the mark on the forehead of her girl nor bind correctly the sacred thread on her arm—

বদন্য আভ্রাকুলদৃষ্টিরল্যা স্যনান্তরে কল্পিতসম্মিবেশম্ ।

আলপকুলীমি প্রতিলক্ষ্যমাণমূর্ণাময় কৌতুকহাসসুখম্ ॥

K S—VII 25

(তানান্দব অশ্রু বাব। বদনতে দ্বে,
 উৰ্ণায় স্ত্র বা ॥ বাব স্থানান্তব
 আসিয়া উমাব ধাত্রী কোতুক অস্তব
 যথাস্থানে কোতুক লঙ্কিল তাবপবে ॥)—R L B

(On Uma's rounded arm this woollen band
 Was fixed securely by the nurse's hand
 Blind with tears that filled her swimming eye
 In vain the mother strove the band to tie

—G

Being attended by all the gods of Heaven and giving up for the time being the symbols of asceticism, but still being unwilling to part with his old ox as his conveyance the bridegroom on the day of his marriage comes to the house of his future wife The gods who are formally introduced to Śiva greet him who acknowledges their salutation thus—

কম্পে নৃপ্ত হস্তপদযোনি, বাচ্য হরি বৃক্ষহণ স্নিতেন ।

ভাজকমাত্রেণ সুরালয়োষান্ সম্ভাবয়ামাস যথামুদ্যানম্ ॥ K S VII 46

(He spoke to Vishnu and on Indra smiled,
 To Brahma bowed—the lotus' mystic child
 On all the hosts of heaven his friendly eye
 Beamed duly welcome as they crowded nigh)—G

(বিধি সম্ভাবিল শিব শির সঞ্চালনে,

বাক্য যোগে সম্ভাষণ সবোজ্ঞাক্ষ-সনে,

বৃদ্ধহস্ত-যোগে শচীনাথে সম্ভাষণ,

অপর দেবতা প্রতি কবি বিলোকন ॥) —R L B

This is prosaic and gives a clue to the etiquette of the Gupta court and resembles that of the courts of

modern potentates or their representatives. The description of the young women of the Himalayan Capital, who in their eagerness to see the bridegroom, leave their toilet incomplete, resembles that of the ladies of Vidarbha, who leave their household duties and come to the gilt windows of their mansions to look at the marriage procession of Āja and Indumatī (R V VII). The marriage ceremony is duly performed, and ends with the representation of a drama in which the nymphs of Paradise play their parts —

तौ सन्धियु व्यञ्जितवृत्तिभेद रमान्तरयु प्रतिबद्धरागम् ।

अपश्यतामप्सरसा मुहुत्त प्रयोगमाद्य ललिताङ्गहारम् ॥

K S — VII 91

(विकसित वृत्तिज्य चाक अङ्ग उ न,

बसन्तव नृणां गव दान्तिन्य सुद्वन्द्व

अ मर देव, " अ दृष्टि नाव चटक,

लोचन मण्डले दिव, नाटिक गङ्गक । ,—R L B

(Now for a while they gaze where maids divine

In graceful play the expressive dance entwine

Whose eloquent motions, with an actor's art,

Show to the life the passions of the heart) —G

The seventh canto ends with Śiva's revival of the God of Love in compliance with the request of the gods

In the eighth canto the love episode of the divine pair is described by the Poet in glowing colours in accordance with the rules of Kamasāstra. Some critics are of opinion that Kālidāsa whose *Līlādevatā* is *Maheswara*, cannot be its author. But Dr Keith,

though accepting the statement that the nine cantos (IX to XVII) are not written by Kalidāsa, is of opinion that he is the author of the eighth "To Kalidāsa the love of the divine pair is no idle myth—it is reality, leading to the birth of a god destined to do good to the world, and the affection of the divine pair is symbolic of the love which ought to be reproduced on earth between husband and wife. Suggestion is the soul of poetry, in the description, in the Kumaraśāmbhava as in the Meghaduta of superhuman love, we have the exemplar for love on earth. Viewed thus the poem gains greatly in attractiveness and permits us to enjoy the marvellous feeling for nature and power of depicting human emotion which Kalidāsa displays ¹"

In this canto, Śiva's loving description of the various regions of the Himalayas in their honey moon journey resembles Rama's glowing description to Sita of the various localities through which their aerial chariot passes on their return journey to Ayodhya from Lanka in the thirteenth canto of Raghuvamśam. Here is a beautiful description of the splendours of the evening sky—

पश्य पश्चिमदिगन्तलम्बिना, निर्मित मितकथे । विवस्वता ।

दीर्घया प्रतिमया सरोऽम्भसा, तापनीयमिव सेतुबन्धनम् ॥

K S —VIII 34

(See my Beloved ! how the sun

With beams that o'er the water shake,

From western skies has now begun
A bridge of gold across the lake)—T K R

(পশ্চিম স্মান দেব ভাষু অস্তমিত
দীর্ঘ তাঁব প্রজ্জ্বল্য সবলি উপলি,
মিতভালি প্রায় মোব কাবছে গতি
কর্ণদয় সেতু বেন অববিত্ত লাবি ।)

Again—

রক্ষণীতক পিঙ্গা পয়োমুখা কোটয় কুটিলকেশ । মান্ধ্যম্ ।
ব্রহ্মসি ত্বমিতি সান্ধ্যবেলয়া, বসিকামিরিব সাধুবসিতা ॥

—K S—VIII 45

(বহু পীড়-রক্ষণবাগে, অই দেখ পু রাভাগ,
কট এত নেবদ নিকব
ভাহে নেন সন্ধ্যা সতী, নানালি বর্ণবতী
তুলিবার চিত্র কানবব ।,—R L B

(O Darling curly-haired ' in west arrayed,
Behold clouds ash yellow and bright red
With her brush Eve has drawn, it seems, on sky
Cloud pictures as with finest paintings vie)

The Moon now rises in his mild splendour
S'iva says to Parvati—

অঙ্কুলীমিরিব কেশসঙ্ঘয়, সন্নিগৃহ্য তিমির মরীচিমি ।
কুটমলীকৃতসরোজলোচন, চুম্বতীব রজনীমুখ শশী ॥

—K S—VIII-63,

(Moon fingers move the black, black hair
Of Night into its proper place,
Who shuts her eyes, the liles fair,
As he sets kisses on her face)—T K R

(তিহিব অশকা-শুভ্র ববিয়। গ্রহণ,
মবীচি অঙ্গুলি দ্বাবা, হু পি যথাহু নৈ,
প্রণব আবেগে চক্ৰ ব বিল চক্ৰন,
মুদিত কমল অশ্বি অ বাহ-বদান ॥)

In this lovely spot the Divine pair live happily for many years

The eighth canto cannot be the fit ending of the epic, because the Kurnu has not as yet been born, nor has the demon for whom he is to be born, been destroyed

The ninth canto continues the amours of Siva and Umā and describes Siva's making fire the receptacle of his semen from which the god Kartikeya will be born and the coming of the gods to Siva to remind him of their oppression by Tiraṭa

In the tenth canto is described the languishing Agni's transferring according to Indra's advice Siva's semen to the Mandakini from whom it passes into the wombs of the six stars, called Kṛttikās, when they bathe in the river Being unable to retain it, they give birth to a six faced child, whom they cast away in a forest of reeds

The eleventh canto describes Mandakini's (Heavenly Ganges') suckling the beautiful infant, Siva and Umā's finding in their pleasure trip Agni, Mandakini and Kṛttikās' quarrelling with one another for the possession of the child, his being taken away by his parents, the celebration of his birth at Kailasa and the sports of the divine child 'He learns to walk gets dirty in the court-yard

pulls the scanty hair of an old servant and learns to count one, nine, two, ten, five, seven”¹.

In the twelfth canto the gods with Indra as their leader approach Śiva again with the request that he should allow his son Kṛtikeya to become their general in their fight for regaining possession of Heaven, of which they have been dispossessed by the demon Tṛaka to which the god Mahes'vara agrees

The thirteenth canto narrates the re-entry of the fearful gods under their new general Kṛtikeya into the city of Indra, the beauty and splendour of which have been destroyed by the Demon

The fourteenth canto gives a graphic account of the military array of the host of gods under Kārtikeya

In the fifteenth canto is narrated the marching of the army of the gods against the Asuras, whose chief disregards all evil omens and heavenly warnings and defies the gods and their new general

A detailed account is given in the sixteenth canto of the great fight between the gods and the demons who are seated on elephants and horses, and some of whom fight on foot. Before the commencement of the fight—

যুদ্ধায় প্রাবত্তা ধীরং বীরানাংমিতরেতরম্ ।

বৈতালিকা কুলাধীশা নামান্যলমুদাহরন্ ॥

(কুলপতি বৈতালিক বোম্বে ধীর স্বরে,

বোদ্ধ-দ্বন্দ্ব-নাম, বীর উত্তম সমরে ।)

(As pairs of champions stood forth
To test each other's fighting worth,
The bards who knew the family fame
Proclaimed aloud each mighty name)—T K R
Then the battle rages and—

गृहीता पाणिभिर्वीरैर्विकोशा खड्गराजय ।

का न्तजालच्छलावाजौ व्यहसन् समदादिव ॥

(K S—XVI 13)

(And many a warrior's eager lance
Shone radiant in the eerie dance,
A curling, lapping tongue of death
To lick away the soldier's breath)—T K R

(निक्षोषित अलि बाज्जि बवे वीरगण,

सूदृढ बाह्ये তাঁবা কবেন গ্রহণ ,

চতুর্দিকে কবে খজা কাস্তি বিকীৰণ,

বৌদ্ধ হাশ্তে বেন দীপ্ত সমব বদন ।)

The war horse remains faithful to its master up to
the last moment—

মুরঙ্গ সাধিন দ্বন্দ্বহৃতপ্রাণ গত মুখি ।

অবহ্রোঃপি মহাবাজী ন সাস্থনয়নোঃস্ত্যজত্ ॥

(K S—XVI 42)

(The war horse, though unguided, stopped
The moment that his rider dropped,
And wept above the lifeless head
Still faithful to his master dead)—T K R

(অদ্বহত ভূপতিত অশ্বসাদী বীৰ,

অবহ্র বহুপি তাঁব তুদঙ্গ মহান,

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
 श्रीकृष्णार्चनं - श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता ।

The last canto describes how Kartikeya after rendering useless the snake's and storm-weapon, and fire arrows which torment and demoralise the gods hurls his formidable lance called Śakti, against the Demon and kills him to the unbounded delight of the gods, who are restored to their kingdom—

इति विषमशरारे मृचुना जिष्णुनाजौ, सिमुवनवरशल्ये प्रोद्धते दानवेन्द्र ।
 बलरिपुरथ नाकस्याविपत्य प्रपद्य, व्यजयत सुरचूडारत्नवृष्टाप्रपाद ॥

(K S — XVII-55)

(Thus did the victorious son of Śiva extirpate the Demon king a painful thorn in the side of the gods and restore to India his Paradise To him the gods bowed with their bejewelled crowns)

Dr Keith thinks that the last nine cantos could not have been written by Kālidāsa as he would not have repeated the same phrase and prepositional compounds, would not have filled his verses with meaningless words like *sadyas* and *alan*, and would not have repeated *su* to a monotonous and sometimes to a meaningless length, as he does in the eleventh canto, when in eighteen lines of poetry, we find सुत, सुखान्तर, सुविमान, सुधा, सुरचरवीत्या and सुखाश्रु A few lines further on we find सुमङ्गल, सुमन्द्र, सुसन्धि, सुवृत्त, and सुसुदा following one another in quick succession. It is true that Kālidāsa could never write such jingling rhymes as—

गङ्गावारिणि कल्याणकारिणि श्रमहारिणि ।

स मन्त्रो निर्द्विंति प्राप पुण्यभारिणि तारिणि ॥

(K S—X 36)

It appears that some reason—it may have been the adverse criticism of the eighth canto or more probably the desire to begin a better work, and also his realisation of the fact that Kum rasambhavam has been becoming monotonous—may have led him to discontinue the work for sometime, but seeing in his old age the incompleteness of the epic of his Ishtadevata, he may have asked some one else working under his supervision to finish it. If we reject the last nine cantos as spurious, the title of the poem as the birth of the war god will have no meaning, and the prayer of the lesser gods to Brahma for the destruction of the formidable demon Taraka will become fruitless.

The remarks of Mr Ryder in this connexion are worth study—

‘It has been sometimes thought that we have less than Kalidasa wrote, partly because of a vague tradition that there were once twenty three cantos, partly because the customary prayer is lacking at the end. These arguments are not very cogent. Though the concluding prayer is not given in form, yet the stanzas, which describe the joy of the universe, fairly fill its place. And one does not see with what matter further cantos would be concerned. The action promised in the earlier part is completed in the seventeenth canto.

It has been somewhat more forcibly argued

that the concluding cantos are spurious, that Kālidāsa wrote only the first seven or perhaps the first eight cantos. Yet after all, what do these arguments amount to? Hardly more than this—that the first eight cantos are better poetry than the last nine.

Fighting is not Kālidāsa's forte, love is. Even so there is great vigour in the journey of Taraka the battle and the duel. If we reject the last nine cantos the poem would be glaringly incomplete

and we should have a *Birth of the War god* in which the Poet stopped before the war god was born. (Further the poem) has a unity which is lacking in (his) Dynasty of Raghu, though in this epic too the interest shifts. Parvati's love affair is the matter of the first half, Kumara's fight with the demon the matter of the second half. Further it must be admitted that the interest runs a little thin. The Birth of the War god pays for its greater unity by a poverty of adventure"¹

Meghadutam

Kālidāsa's Meghaduta or Cloud messenger is one of the finest lyrical gems in the whole province of

literature and has won the eulogy of Goethe. It contains one hundred and twenty stanzas, each of which consists of four lines of Mandakranta metre of seventeen syllables, with caesuras at the fourth and tenth syllables. "A much ampler means of expression of a single thought is thus available than within the restricted limits of *Indravajra* and *Vamsāsthā*, which make up more than half of *Ritusamhara*, but at the same time a severe strain is imposed on the capacity of the Poet, but one to which he shows himself equal"¹

The theme is a message sent through a Cloud by a love-lorn Yaksha banished to *Ramagiri* for neglect of duty by his master, to his pining wife in a beautiful mansion at the charming town of *Alaka*, the seat of *Kuvera*, the God of Riches on the splendid mountain *Kailasa*, the abode of the Highest God and Goddess—*Śiva* and *Purvatī*. This idea has been borrowed by Schiller in his tragedy, *Maria Stuart*. Mary after long seclusion is once more permitted to behold the cheerful sky. "In the joy of momentary freedom she forgets that she is still a captive, she addresses the clouds, the sailors of the air, who are not subjects of Elizabeth and bids them carry tidings of her to the hearts that love her in other lands."² Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* led to the composition of similar works, i.e. *Hamsaduta*, *Padamkaduta*, *Pavana duta* and *Kokiladuta*. But if anything suggested the writing of his *Meghaduta*, it might be *Rama's*

¹ C S L.—p 86

² Carlyle & Schiller—p 134

sending a message to Sitā in Lanka through Hanuman, as the Poet makes the Yaksha say to his wife through the Cloud, when on reaching his house at Alaka it will begin to give his message to her—

इत्यारयाते पवनतनय मैथिलीबोन्मुखी सा

त्वमुत्कण्ठोच्छ्वसितहृदया वीक्ष्य सम्मान्य चैव श्रोष्यति—

(M D II—39)

(This being said, she, i. e. my wife, being as anxious as Sitā was to listen to Hanuman, will eagerly and attentively hear thy message after looking at and greeting thee) Hanuman is the son of Pavana, and the Cloud's companion is Pavana¹

The Cloud is persuaded by the Yaksha to undertake this long journey, as it, though circuitous, shall be pleasant, and as the Cloud will be enabled to see beautiful and memorable sights and to acquire religious merit by visiting sacred places, and to perform, besides minor good deeds, a great act of charity—viz., the carrying of the Yaksna's message to his love-lorn Beloved. The Yaksha further points out that winds and birds will encourage the Cloud to undertake this journey—

मन्द मन्द नदन्ति पवनश्चानুকूलो यथा त्वा,

वामश्चाय नदन्ति मधुर चातकस्ते सगव्य । (M D —I 9)

ধীৰ সমীৰণ স্নৰনে বহিবে,

অল্পবুল পথে তোমার মনে,

গৰ্জিত চাতক মধুৰ গাহিবে

তব বাম ভাগে পুলক মনে । —B C M

The Yaksha adds that the Cloud should disregard the winding nature of its route, for its eyes will be useless, if it does not see Ujjaini and its beautiful girls—

विष्णु ह्यमस्तु रितमिति र्यत्र पौराणिकानां,

कोलायाङ्गैश्चि न रमसे क्षोभनैर्वाञ्छितं स्या । (M D —I 27)

(Those glancing eyes, those lightning looks unseen,
Dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been).—W

(বুখা আঁখি, যদি না দেখে সেখায

সুবতীর ভীত নয়ন কোলে,

চকিত কটাক্ষ, যবে ভব গায়

ঢীর্ঘ শ্ববে দামিনী বেলে ।) —B C M

Part of the route suggested to the Cloud by the Yaksha has already been described (see p 156)

The Cloud after a prolonged journey will reach **mount Kailasa**. It is covered with a white mantle of snow, which serves the nymphs as their mirror and resembles the accumulated laughter of the white God of gods, who roams with his consort Pürvati in this, their pleasure garden. The Yaksha hopes that the Cloud will be able to recognise easily the city of Alak' and adds (see also p 41)—

Where palaces in much may rival thee—

Their ladies gay, thy lightning's dazzling powers—
Symphonic drums, thy thunder's melody—

Their bright mosaic floors, thy silver showers—

Thy rainbow, paintings, and thy height, cloud-
looking towers.—T K R

The Poet bestows all the wealth of his imagery on

the description of this heavenly city Nature reveals here with fragrant flowers intovicated bees, lotus-tanks, peacocks expanding their beautiful tails and moonlit nights This is the place—

জানন্দোৎথ নয়নসলিল যন্ত নান্যৈর্নিমিত্তৈ
নান্যন্যাপ কুসুমশরজাদিষ্টসযোগসাধ্যাত্ ।
নান্যন্যন্য প্রণয়কলহাদ্বিময়োগোপপত্তি
বিত্তেশানার ন চ স্কলু বযো যৌবনাদন্যদস্মি ॥

(M D —II 4)

(যেথা, আঁখিনী'ব ঝবে সে হববে,
নাহি অল্প কোন কারণ তাব ,
নাহি তাপ বিনা ফুল-শব বশে,
প্রিয় সবাংগমে হরণ বাব ,
নাহিক বিরহ, বিনা মান ভদ্রে—
সাধেব কণ্টক পীৰিতি ফুলে—
নাহি অল্প বয় না'বী কিস্বা নবে,
বিনা সে যৌবন বনেশ কুলে ।) --B C M

(Where tears are shed for nothing else but joy ,
Sole pain from Love's darts unions destroy ,
Short parting only quarrelling lovers know,
Kuvera's clan no age but youth doth show)

Here Yaksha girls bathe in the cool waters of
of the Mandakini, and while resting under the shade of
the Mandara trees growing on its banks, play with the
gems found in the gold dust, which serves the purpose of
sand

The description of the city of Alaka resembles to

some extent that of the capital of the God of the Himalayas in Kum rasambhavam (VI—40 to 45)

Then the Cloud is to proceed to the Yaksha's house, which is situated to the north of the palace of his master, the god of riches. The portico of his house is beautified with the colours of the rainbow. At one extremity of the compound, is a small Mandara tree which has been planted by his wife and fostered by her with a motherly care. The tank close to her house is full of lotuses and swans, on the bank of which rises their pleasure hill, adorned with Asoka and Vakula flowers. In the room adjoining he will be able to find a woman emaciated by her prolonged separation from her husband—

ता जानीया परिमितकथा जीवित मे द्वितीय ,

दूरीभूते मयि सहचरे चक्रवाकीमिवैकाम् ।

गाढोदकण्ठ गुरुषु दिवसेष्वेषु गच्छत्सु बालाम् ।

जाता मनये शि शरमयिता पद्मिनीं वानरूपाम् ॥ — M D II 22

(Lone as the widowed Chakravaki mourns,
Her faithful memory to her husband turns
And sad, and silent, shalt thou find my wife,
Half of my soul, and partner of my life,
Nipped by chill sorrow, as the flowers enfold
Their shrinking petals for the withering cold) W

(জীবন রূগিনী সেই সে আমার,

একা চক্রবাকী বিরহে মোর,

কথাটি মুখেতে ফুটে নাক তার,

মরম বাতনা এমনি ঘোর ।

আহা, মবি, ভাই, বিবাদ মথনে
সে রূপেব ছটা আব কি আছে,
বুঝিবা নিশিতে শিশির-দলনে
নশিনীর মত শুকাবে গেছে ।)—B C M

Her eyes have become inflamed by continuous lamentation, and her lips discoloured by frequent sighs, Though trying to divert herself with a song of which her husband is the theme, she is unable to recall the appropriate music The Cloud is to tell her that her husband, being separated from her, has become more dead than alive, and that he frequently complains —

দ্যামাস্বল্প চকিতহরিণীমৈশ্রণে দৃষ্টিপাত
বক্ষুষ্ঠায়া হাশিনি শিখিনা বর্হমারেণু কেশান্ ।
ভূতপদ্যামি পুতনু নদীবীচিষু ধূষিতাসান্,
হন্তৈকস্মিন্ কচ্চিদপি ন তে চণ্ডি ! সাহস্যমস্মি ॥ M D —II 43

(Goddess beloved, how vainly I explore
The world to trace the semblance I adore ,
Thy graceful form the fexile tendril shows ,
And like thy locks the peacock's plumage glows ,
Mild as thy cheeks, the moon's new beams appear,
And mild those soft eyes adorn the timid deer ,
In rippling brooks thy curling brows I see,
But only view combined these charms in thee,)-W

(লতিকায় চাক্র দেহের গঠন,
শশধবে কম কপোল আভা,
চকিত হরিণী আঁখিতে নয়ন,
শিখি পুচ্ছ ভাবে চিকুৰ শোভা,

ভট্টিনীর ছোট বক্সিম তরঙ্গে
দেখি সে ভুরুর, মধুব খেলা,
কিন্তু, হায়, প্রিয়ে, বিনা তব অঙ্গে
না দেখিছ এক সবার মেল।।)—B C M

He asks the Cloud to tell his wife that when he tries to console himself with a rough portrait of his Beloved and himself, cruel Fate stands in the way—

ত্বামাভিলষ্য পূণ্যকুপিতা ধাতুরাগৌ শিলায়া
মালামান তে অরুণপতিত যাবদিচ্ছামি কচুর্ন।
অশ্রুত্বান্মহুতুপচিতৈর্দৃষ্টিরালুপ্যতে মে,
কুরুত্বাস্মিন্নপি ন সহতে সঙ্গম নো কৃতান্ত ॥

(M D,—II-44)

(And when I paint that loving jealousy
With chalk upon the rock and my caress
As at thy feet I lie, I cannot see
Through tears that to mine eyes unbidden press—
So stern a fate denies a painted happiness)T K R

স্মৃতি তোমার ক্রুদ্ধ মান ভরে,
পৈয়সিকৈ আকিরা শিলার গায়,
প্রদ্বিষ্ট বখন যিহ্মল মন্তরে,
মূর্তাতে সে চাকু কোমল পার,
সলিলের উৎস ছুটিয়া আধিতে
আধারে ঢাকিল সে প্রিয় লেখা—
অহো, কুর বিধি পারে না সহিতে
তোমাতে আমাতে এ হেন দেখা' —B C M

Mr Pathak says that this is one of the best verses in the writings of Kalidasa. The Yaksha now requests

he Cloud to ask, his wife to exercise patience only for our months and not to distrust her husband—

एतस्मिन्मम कुवालिनमभिज्ञानदानाद्विदित्वा,

मम कौलीनादभितनयने सम्यग्निश्चासिषी भू ।

स्नेहानाहु किमपि विरहे भवसिनस्ते स्वभोगा-

दिष्टे वस्तुनुरपचितरसा पूमराशीभवन्ति ॥ M D II 51

(While thus, O Goddess with the dark black eyes,
My fond assurance confidence supplies,
Let not the tales that idle tatlers bear,
Subvert thy faith, nor teach thee to despair
True love no time nor distance can destroy,
And independent of all present joy,
It grows in absence, as renewed delight,
Some dear memorials some loved lines excite)—W

(এই অভিজ্ঞানে, সুনীল-নয়না

সুভাকাজ্জী মোবে জানিও তব,

অনিষ্টান মম কথায় করো না,

প্রবাদের যা বটে অলীক সব ,

মিথ্যা কথা, সেই বিরহে পালায় ,

প্রিয়েব চিন্তায় কবিয়ে ভব,

বাড়ে নিতি নিতি, শেষে হয়ে যার

কদর কলস্ত প্রেমের খব ।)—B C M

His wife will then make over to the Cloud a nemento and a message which, as he is his kind friend, he will hand over to him after the completion of his return-journey and save his life If the Cloud perform this act of great charity then—

यत्तत् कृत्वा प्रिय मनुषितप्रार्थनावर्तिनो मे,

सौहार्दाद्वा विधुर इति वा मय्यनुक्रोशबुद्ध्या ।

इष्टान् देशान् जलद । विचर पादुषा सम्मृत्सग्री-

र्माभूदेव क्षणमपि च ते विद्युता विप्रयोग ॥ —M D —II 54

(এ বিদ্যুৎ প্রাণে করুণা করিয়ে

কিঞ্চ বজ্রভাষ, (বে বোন ভাবে),

অহুচিত মম প্রার্থনা ক্ষমিষে,

এ প্রিয় কাষটি সাধিতে হাব ,

পবে, ধবি নব শোভা ববষায়,

দাও বেবা দেশ গনোস্ত লয়

যেন শো তোমার দামিনী শতায়

এ হেন বিচ্ছদ কভু না হয় ।)—B C M

(For friendship or by misery distressed,

By you fulfilled, unfit though my request,

To all the scenes your heart points you the way,

In rainy beauty freely roam you may ,

May not one single moment from your side,

Your loved Lightning Spouse apart abide)

The God of Riches, hearing the message of the Yaksha to his wife from the Cloud, gives him permission to return to Alaka and to his devoted wife (II 55) This last verse, as Mr Pathak says, seems to be spurious

It may be said that a long poem of one hundred and twenty stanzas is disproportionate to the pang, which the two lovers may have felt for their separation lasting only for a year—a separation which is due to a condign punishment for the Yaksha's neg

lect of duty But it must be borne in mind that the young lovers are intensely devoted to each other and that the Yaksha (who is *इयिताजीवितालम्बनार्थी* or desirous of sustaining the life of his Beloved) fears that if his wife does not receive any message from him in time, she may die a premature death The length of the poem may also be explained by the fact that a circuitous journey has to be suggested to the Cloud in order to make its flight to Alaka as agreeable as possible, because so many places of interest cannot be found in any other route from Ramagiri to Alaka It redounds to the credit of the Yaksha that he does not utter a single word of complaint against Kuvera, his master, to whom his banishment has been due His selection of the Cloud, which is made of smoke, heat, water and air, as his messenger, is due to the fact, as the Poet himself says, that love has so much occupied his mind that he has become unable to distinguish between the living and the non living (M D —I—5)

Raghuvamsam

The Raghuvams'a, Kalidasa's epic masterpiece, is the distilled essence of whatever is best in the Kavya style The narrative moves with rapidity, and is not

impeded by long descriptions. The Poet adopts the southern or Vaidarbha style, which is much simpler than the eastern or Gaudī style. Sentiments predominate over ornaments—figures of sounds or śabda-lankāra and figures of thought or arthalankāra—which are not allowed to choke them. His similes are particularly happy and carried out in precise detail. Sometimes they are accumulated for effect. They are gathered from the whole realm of Nature and Man. Even Philosophy, Grammar, and Politics are made to yield their store. He rarely uses slesha or puns. Alliteration is abundant. There are several instances of the sound echoing the sense. He uses a large number of metres, fourteen or more, for preventing his long epic consisting of nineteen cantos from becoming monotonous.

The subject matter is partly derived from the Rāmāyana of Vālmīki, the Padma Purāṇa and the Vishnu Purāṇa and mostly from his inventive imagination.

The first canto begins with the Poet's invocation to Śiva and Parvatī. Then he dwells on the magnitude of the task, he has undertaken, of describing the achievements of the celebrated Raghu dynasty and incidentally of the Gupta sovereigns, who are his patrons—

सन्द कवियज्ञं पार्थीं गमिष्याम्युपहास्यताम् ।

प्रांशुकुल्ये फले लोभाद्वाङ्मुखि वामन ॥

सौम्यमन्त्रमन्त्रादमन्त्रमाफलेदयकर्मणाम् ।

नारदमुद्राङ्गिरीशानामनाकरयवर्त्मनाम् ॥ R V — 1 3 and 5

(For, dullard though I am,
I seek a poet's fame, and risk men's jeers,
A dwarf who stretches tiny arms to grasp
Fruit hung well nigh beyond a giant's reach

So Raghu's line I sing,—pure from their birth
Who till they won success worked on, and ruled
Earth to the sea their car track reached to
Heav'n)—P D L J

মৃত আমি, বরিকীর্তি লভিতে গাগল,
এহেন প্রয়াসে মোব হাসিবে ভুবন,
উচ্চ বৃক্ষে প্রাণ্ডুজনে লভে ঘেই ফল,
সে ফলে বাড়াই কব হইয়া বামন।

আজন্ম-বিশুদ্ধ বসুকুল-বাজগণ
শাসিলেন সসাগর অবনী-মণ্ডল,
কবিতেন বিমানেন্তে স্বর্গে বিচরণ,
কবি কার্য লভিতেন সদা পূর্ণ ফল) —N D

They are Kālidāsa's ideal kings resolute in the attainment of their ends, pious in the performance of sacrifices, charitable to the needy, impartial as judges, sparing in the use of words for the sake of truth, marrying for the sake of sons, spending their youth in the acquisition of knowledge, and though given to enjoyment in their youth, living the life of ascetics in their old age

The God of the Sun has a son named Manu from whom Dīlpa is descended. Dīlpa's body and mind are equally developed—

आकारसदृशपूज पूजया सदृशागम ।

आगमै सदृशारम्भ आरम्भसदृशोदय ॥ R \ —I 15

His vigorous mind
Matched with his beauty, while his Holy Lore
Was equal with them, valour and success
Were twinned) —P D L J

(সূচক অ, কাব তাঁব, অন্তবে তেমতি
তীক্ষ্ণ বুদ্ধি, সেই মত শাস্ত্রোক্ত ঘটন ,
বেশন আগম শিক্ষা, কার্যও তেমন,
কার্য অল্পকণ ফল লভেন স্মৃতি ।)—N D

He is an ideal ruler—

पूजानामैव भूतार्थं स साम्यो बलिसमग्रहीव ।

सहस्रगुणमुत्पन्नमुदत्ते हि रस रवि ॥

(Save to guard the realm,
No tax was taken, so the sun derives
From earth that moisture which a thousandfold
He soon gives back in rain)—P D L J

(সাধিবারে প্রজাদেব অশেষ মঙ্গল
বর্ষ ভাগ কব রাজ্য কবেন গ্রহণ
স গ্রহি সহস্র রশ্মি ধবা হ তে জল
করেন সহস্র গুণ পুন ববষণ ।)—N D

Though he is the lord of a vast kingdom and
the husband of a devoted and accomplished wife,
named Sudakshina, the husband and wife pine for the
birth of a son who will perpetuate the dynasty
They go to the hermitage of Vasishtha to ascertain
from the sage the reason of their being sonless,

which, he assures them, is due to the king's neglect of Surabhi, the divine cow, and which will be obviated by their tending Nandini, the daughter of Surabhi, who is in the hermitage

The second canto begins with the description of the king's and queen's living the life of simple cow herds, and their affectionate and respectful tending of Nandini. After a long time the celestial cow tests the devotion of the king by creating an illusion, in which a lion appears to be ready to make the cow his prey. The king in trying to kill it becomes for the moment paralysed. He offers to the lion his own body instead, from which the lion tries his best to dissuade him—

तद्रक्ष कल्याणपरम्पराणां भोक्तारमूर्जस्वलमात्मदेहम् ।
महीतलस्पशनमाक्षभिन्नमृद्धं हि राज्यं पदमैन्द्रमाहुः ॥
एतावद्वक्त्वा विरते मृगेन्द्रे, प्रतिस्वनेनास्य गुहागतेन ।
शिलोच्चयोऽपि क्षितिपालमुच्चैः प्रीत्या तमेवार्थमभाषतेव ॥

—R V —II—50 and 51

(Save life and youth,)

Enjoy the goods of fate,—for Indra's state,
Save that thou dwell'st on earth, scarce passes
thine—(P D L J)

The lion spoke and ceased, but echo rolled
Forth from the caves wherein the sound was pent,
As if the hills applauded manifold,
Repeating once again the argument—(T K R)

রাখ নিজ মহাবল-দেহ তেজীয়ান,
জীবিত থাকলে মুখ ভুজিবে অপাৰ ,

কে ন' জ্ঞান বাজ্য ভোগ ইন্দ্র সন্ধান
 যদিও এ মর্ত্য লোক বিষয় তাহার ?
 এ বন্দিয়া গিবিল মৃগকুলপতি
 গুহ মুখ শৈশ-বাজ করি প্রতিশ্রুতি,
 বাহ্যারে কাঁহল বেন পুং সে ভাষণী
 অদৃষ্টে, আবাব তাহা শুনিলা নৃমণি ।—N D

But the king persists—

প্রত্যাহ কিং লায়ত হনুসদ্র, প্রসন্ন্য ঘন্ডো মুবনেত্ব রুত ।
 রক্ষ্যেধ কি তদ্বিপরীতবৃত্তে প্রাগৌপকীকসমভীমসৌধী ॥

R V—II 53

(The Warrior's name
 He only worthy bears who saves from harm,
 'Tis proverb-lore who e'er betrays that trust
 Would forfeit roya' state and earn foul scorn)

—P D. L. J

(কত হ'তে ভ্রাণ কবে, ইহাবি কারণ

মহান ক্ষত্রিয় নাথ খ্যাত ভিভুবনে ।

ইহাব অন্তথাচার করে বেই জন

ধিক তার রাজভোগে, কলঙ্কী জীবনে ।)—N D

The illusion disappears, Nardini is satisfied and
~~promises~~ the birth of a worthy son

In the third canto are described the birth of Raghu,
 his childhood, his studies, and his learning of the art
 of war—

অর্থাপনীত বিধিবদ্বিপশিতো বিনিমুপরেণ গুরবো গুরুশ্রিয়ন্ ।

অকলম্বকস্তাঙ্গ বহুবুরহ তে, ক্রিয়া হি বস্থপহিতা প্রসীদতি ॥

R V—III 29,

(Next the sacred cord,
That marked his second birth, the noble child
Assumed, and sages taught him, fruitful soil
For learning's seed on well prepared fields
What work men spend will prosper)—P D L J

(উপনয়নের পৰে ৰাজ্যৰ নন্দন
শিথিল নিখিল শাস্ত্ৰ গুৰুৰ সদন ,
সদন গুৰুৰ শিক্ষা হেন ছাত্ৰবাবু,
স্বপাত্ৰে কৰিলে বহু আগু বুল ববে ।—N D

Then Dilipa celebrates Raghu's marriage with the daughter of a king instals him as the heir apparent and appoints him, as Pushyamitra does his grandson Vasumitra in Mlavikgnimitram as the protector of his sacrificial horse, which is stolen by the jealous Indra, who fears Dilipa's attaining his eminence by his hundred horse sacrifices Raghu fights valiantly for the horse with Indra, who is highly satisfied Then on his return to the capital Raghu is heartily greeted by his delighted father, who being desirous of retiring from the world, instals him as the king of Kosala

In the fourth canto Raghu is described after his accession to the throne as subduing the discontented chiefs of his kingdom and then setting out on an extensive conquest, which has already been narrated (see pp 97 ff) On his return home he celebrates the Vis'vaja sacrifice, on the completion of which the conquered princes are allowed to go back to their kingdoms

The fifth canto introduces to us the Brahman Kautsa, who approaches Raghu, who has been rendered penniless by his sacrificial charities, with the request that he should give him fourteen crores of gold coins, being the fee demanded by his preceptor for his tuition. The king is extricated from this perplexity by Kuber, who, being afraid of Raghu's prowess showers on his palace millions of gold coins, which he hands over to Kautsa, whose blessing leads to the birth of his worthy son, Aja.

After Aja's education is completed, Raghu sends him to the capital of the king of Vidarbha to attend the Savambara ceremony of the princess Indumati. One evening he encamps on the bank of a river from which a wild elephant rises and attacks his party, and being wounded by Aja it is changed into a demigod, gives the prince a magic weapon, and departs to paradise. On Aja's reaching Vidarbha he is welcomed and luxuriously lodged for the night. The verses, in which Aja is roused from his sleep by the panegyrists at Vidarbha are exceedingly beautiful and instructive—

रक्षिता मतिमता वर मुञ्च शय्या घाता द्विधैव ननु भूर्जगतो विभक्ता ।
तामेकतस्तव विभक्तिं गुरुर्विनिद्रस्तस्या भवानपरधुर्योपदावलम्बी ॥

ताम्रोदरेषु पतित तरुपल्लवेषु निर्धौतहारगुलिकाविशद हिमाम्भ ।
आभासि लब्धपरमागतयाधरोष्ठे लीलासित सदशनार्चिरिव त्वदीयम् ॥
यावत्प्रतापनिधिराक्रमते न भानुरह्नाय तावदरुणेन तमो निरस्तम् ।
आयोधनाग्रसरताम् त्वधि वीर । याते किंवा रिपु स्तव गुरु स्वयमुच्छिनत्ति ।

मवति विरलभक्तिम्लानयु'पोरहार स्वकिरणपरिवेपोद्देक्षुनया प्रदीपा ।
अयमपि च गिर नस्त्वन्मयोऽयमुन्नामनुवदति शुक्लस्ते मञ्जुवाक्पञ्जरस्थ ॥

R. \—\—66 70 71 and 74

("Awake, \ 1st Prince' for darksome night is
past'

And Brahm \ 1st has cleft the weight of \ 1st e
Which has the \ 1st beas up and half the \ 1st e

Now on the \ 1st es
Tinged ruddy rests the dew, a pearl \ 1st band
With double lustre, as thy gladsome smile
Plays o'er thy gleaming teeth The dawn, fair
Prince'

Dispels night's cloud until the sun arise,
Then ceases shall the \ 1st e then crush the foe,
Now thou art come to lead his armed host ?

The flower \ 1st reaths languish now, and now the
lamps

Burn dim, and lose the halo of their rays,
And thy caged parrot \ 1st arbling cheerful notes,
Mocks this our morning hymn 1")—P D L J

(सुप्रभात विभावरी, उठ महामति,
दिला बिधि पृथ्वीभाव दुइजन प्रति,
एक दिके तब पिता कबेन बहन,
अत्र दिके बह तूमि आजिया शयन ।

উলাব বুঝাব বিষ্ণু, যেন মুক্ত প্রাণ,
 শোভিছে আবদ্ধ নব পল্লব উপর,
 শোভে তথা হাসি শাখা অববে তোলাব,
 বিকসিত লতা পতি, কিবা যান হব
 না উল্লসিত প্রভাকর উদয় ভূবে
 বসিত অশ্রু নাশন তরুণাব ,
 ভব পি তা বসবাস না যোত সান,
 অগ্রে যেনে তুনি শত্রু করহে সান ।

উলাব পুষ্পালা শিখিল মলিন,
 শিশু প্রাণ এব পবিত্র হীন ,
 অগাদব মুখ শুনি তব শুকবান,
 স্বপ্নাব প্রভাত গীত গাইছে পি গব ।—N D

The sixth canto begins with the description of the svayamvara assembly of the Vidarbha princess. Each prince is seated on his ornamental elevated seat, and is adorned with every appurtenance of beauty like a veritable god. Then the princess arrives in a palanquin with her attendant Sunand, and her beauty becomes the cynosure of a hundred eyes—

তসিন্ বিধানাতিশয়ে বিধাতু কন্যাময়ে নেত্রশতৈকলক্ষেণ ।
 নিপেতুরন্তকরণৈর্নরেন্দ্রা, দেহে স্থিতা কেবলমাসনেষু ॥

R V—VI 11

(That perfect woman, Brahma's last best work,
 The goal of countless hearts, drew all their souls
 Out through their eyes,—the lumpish clay alone
 Remained behind)—P D L J

(বিবাহের বব স্তম্ভ সে নাবী বহন
 ভেবিত সহস্র অঁদি পড়িল সে রাতে,
 বাজগণ দেহাত্ত বহিল তামর,
 মন প্রাণে উড়ি ইহা জী পাতা) —N D

Every prince tries his best to captivate Indumatī
 Then her at first takes her first to the Emperor of
 Magadha and then to other princes, (see pp 85 ff)
 and last of all to Aja By means of a beautiful simile
 which has earned for the poet the title of *Dīpasīkha*
Kalidasa (*cf* *Aśvapatra Bhāravi, Ghanta-Magha &c*), he
 describes how the princes are thrown into the shade
 by Indumatī, when she passes by them—

সজ্জারিণী দীপ শিল্পেবরাসো য য ব্যতীয়ায় পতিবরা সা ।

নরেন্দ্রমাগাঁড় ইব পূপে দে বিবর্ণাভাব স স ভূমিপাল ॥

(R V —VI 67)

(Now as the Maid went by, each suitor king,
 Lit for a moment by her dazzling eyes,
 Like wayside tower by passing lamp sank back
 In deepest gloom) —P D L J

(যে যে বাজগণে ছাড়ি চলিল যুবতা,

ডুবিল তাঁদের মুখ ছাথে অঁবাবে,

বাজগণে দীপ-শিখা, নিশীথে যেমতি

গেলে চলি, হর্যাবাজি ডুব অন্ধকাবে) —N D

Sunanda pointing out Aja to Indumatī says—

কুলেন কান্ত্যম বয়সা নবেন গুণৈশ্চ তৈসৌ বিনয়পূজনৈ ।

স্বমাল্লনরহস্যমস্তু দৃণীষ্য রক্ত সমাগচ্ছন্তু কাঙ্ক্ষনেন ॥

(R V —VI-79)

(Choose him brought maid Thy peer
He only sir becometh, meagre, youth
In virtues all with modest the chief—
Ah, let the girl be set in finest gold' —P D L J

ক', সুন্দরী, শীতল, নরীন দেবতা
তব মুখ এ কুমার জালা বদামন,
বর পাব, বিবিসি জুড়াবে তব,
বহন কাঞ্চন আজ উঠে গিন্নি ।)—N D

When Sunanda has finished her speech, Indumati accepts Aja as her husband with a tender glance, which is equivalent to the marriage-garland. But the attendant in her jesting mood asks Indumati to go to another prince—

तथागताया पतिहासार्द्धं सख्या सखी वेत्तमृदाबनाये ।

आख्ये । ज्ञानामोऽनयत इत्ययैना वधूरसुখाकुटिल ददर्श ॥

(R V—VI 82)

(Then smiling spake Sunanda when she marked
The maiden's confusion—'Gracious Lady, now
Pass we to others !' She from angry eyes
Flashed fire, indignant)—P D L J

(সুবতীৰ হো ভাব কবি দৰশন

পৰিহাস ছলে সখী কৰিল তখন—

চল ধনি, অস্ত্ৰ দিকে দেব বাজগণে,”

বোৰে বালি হেৰে তাৰে কুটিল নম্বে ।)—N D

Indumati selecting Aja as her bridegroom puts round his neck the sacred garland. The citizens approve of the selection—

शशिनमुपगतेय कौमुदी मेघमुक्त जलनिधिमनुरूप जङ्गकनयावतीर्णा ।
इति समगुणयोगप्रीतयन्तस्तपोरा श्रवणकट्टु नृपाणामेकवाक्य विवदु ॥

(R \ — \ I 85)

('He e the cloudless noon

Wins clear exultance ' Gang 's self unites
With her fit mate 'wide Ocean "' loud rejoiced
In snouts like these harsh to the rival kings,
The happy people, who delighted saw
Their virtues else unmatched, now fitly joined
In perfect union) —P D L J

(চু্যাকপ উভায়ব হেৰিয়া শিলন,

এক বাক্যে প্রশ শিল পূববাসিগণ—

মিনিল বৌমুদী মেঘমুক্ত শশী সনে,

সমাগতা ভাগীবধী সাগব-সদনে ।"

উঠিলা সভায় হেন আনন্দের ধ্বনি,

স্তনিয়া ব্যথিত-চিত্ত যত নৃপমণি ।) —N D

The se enth canto begins with the celebration of the marriage of Aja with Indumatī. The neglect of their toilet by the ladies of Vidarbha in their eagerness to see the bridegroom and the bride resembles that of the women of the city of the god of the Himalayas, on the occasion of the marriage of Śiva and Parvatī described in the Kumārasambhava. Then the necessary religious rites are duly performed. The time for the departure of the bridegroom and the bride arrives. The king of Vidarbha accompanies the married pair for some distance. After he has left, the princes, who have come to the svayamvara and have been cherishing anger against the son of their con

quero Raghu, and whose ire has been aggravated by their late disappointment at Vidarbha, intercept the marriage procession Aja first provides for the safety of Indumati A fight then ensues, many are slain, and many are severely wounded When Aja finds that his army is about to retreat, he comes forward in his chariot and confronts the enemy Aja's chariot is closely beset by them—

সৌজ্ঞানব্রৈহ্মরথ পরীষা অজাম্মাণেণ বমূষ লুপ্ত ।

নীহারমণ্ডো দিনপূর্বমাগা কিচ্ছিৎ প্রকাশোন বিবস্বতেষ ॥ R V VII 60

(আচ্ছন্ন অভেদ বথ শত্রু শবজালে,

কেবল ধ্বজব অগ্র হয় দবশন

তুষাব উষাব মুখ ঢাকিলে যেমন

ববিচ্ছবি ঈষৎ প্রকাশে তাব ভালে ।)—N D

(Aja whose chariot was covered with the missiles of the enemy could only be distinguished by the upper end of his banner, as the early part of the day being enveloped by mist, is rendered visible by the partially disclosed sun)

After fighting for sometime with his bow and arrow, he hurls against his foes his faint inducing weapon, which sends them to sleep Then with an arrow dipped in blood, he writes on their banners, "O kings, the son of Raghu has taken away your glory, but has graciously spared your lives " Then the blameless Aja places his left foot on the heads of the assembled princes We find this idea of placing the left foot on the head of a conquered prince in several inscriptions of the Gupta period When he comes near his terror stricken wife and cheers her up

On his return to the capital with Indumati, his father abdicates and instals him as king—

तदुपहितकुटुम्बं शान्तमार्गीतसुकोऽभूत्,
न हि सति कुलधुर्य्ये सूर्य्यवदया गृहाय ।

R \ —\ II 71

(He then transferred the yoke

Of kingship to his son and eager turned

To tread himself the quiet way of Peace

Such in the solar line is ever use

For monarchs, when their sons have come to age)

—P D L J

(অজ্ঞ হস্তে বধাকালে বাধি পবিজন,

উৎসুক হইলা রঘু মুকুতিব তবে ,

যোগ্য পুত্রে সমর্পিয়া পৃথিবীর ভার

হৃদয়কুল বাজকুল ত্যজেন স-সাব ॥)—N D

The eighth canto opens with the installation of Aja, which is duly performed by Vasishtha, the priest of the family. In the second verse of this canto the Poet makes the significant remark that Aja accepts royalty simply to comply with the command of his father and not for any thirst for enjoyment unlike other princes who try to misappropriate the kingdom by wicked means. Here may be a reference to the intrigues of the scions of the Gupta Dynasty on the occasion of the accession of Kumara gupta I. The king endears himself to his subjects and tributary princes by his equitable rule. He has strength only for dispelling the fear of the distressed, learning for honouring learned men, and wealth for

do is good to others. Here is a reference to his patronage of scholars. Raghu is dissuaded by Aja from retiring to the forest for spiritual contemplation. He now agrees to live the life of an ascetic in the outskirts of the city—

प्रशमस्थितपूर्वपार्थिव कुलममुद्यतनूतनेश्वरम् ।

नभसा निभृतेन्दुना तुलामु दितार्केण समारोह तत् ॥

(R V—\ III—15)

(Now in that kingly house the reverend sire,
Had chosen peace, the son in vigour ruled,
Bright as is Heav'n when day's great orb mounts
high,

And smiles the moon) —P D L J

(‘হর্যকুলাকাশে আশা কি শোভা উদয়।’

‘নভাঃসম অস্ত বসু পূর্ণ শশধব,

অত্র দিকে স্বর্গাসনে স্বমেরু উপব

উদিত অরণ্য রূপে রঘুব তনয়।’)—N D

By a series of beautiful antitheses the Poet contrasts Raghu and Aja. The former seeks salvation (অপবর্গ), and the latter, earthly glory (মহৌদয়) the former associates with devotees, the latter with politicians, the former places himself on kus'a grass for mental concentration and the latter seats himself on a throne to administer justice, the former tries to control his bodily functions by spiritual meditation, the latter employs himself in subduing neighbouring princes by his prowess, the former engages himself in burning with the fire of true knowledge the fruits of his own actions (as they will otherwise lead to

rebirth), and the latter in rendering ineffectual the deeds of his foes. At last Raghu by means of spiritual meditation becomes capable of uniting his soul with the Eternal Soul. Aja sheds tears on hearing the death of his father, whose funeral rites he performs with the assistance of some ascetics without burning his body.

Now Aja becomes stunned by another calamity. While Indumatī and he are in a pleasure-garden adjoining the city, the latter is killed by a garland (intended for Śiva) which falls from the lute of the sage Narada who is travelling in the sky. His sorrow knows no bounds. Both animate and inanimate nature sympathise with him in his affliction (R V—VIII—39 and 70).

He laments by saying—

अथवा मृद् वस्तु हिसितु मृदुनैवारमते म्रजान्तक ।

हिमलेकविपत्तिरस्य मे नलिनी पूर्वनिर्द्धान मता ॥

(R V —VIII—45)

(No Death was aught He spared the sterner

anguish ,

Through gentle flowers your gentle life was lost,

As I have seen the lotus fade and languish

When smitten by the slow and silent frost) T K R

(अथवा कोयल वस्तु कबिते सह्य,

मृद् प्रथमे काल कबेन प्रहार ,

सबसौर नीचे बिधि मृद् नलिनीचे,

कबेन विनाश होय कोयल शिथिले)—N D

He adds—

इदमुच्छ्रिततालक मुखं तव विश्रान्तकथ इनोति माम् ।

निशि सुप्तमिवैकपङ्कजम् विरताभ्यन्तरषट्पदम्बनम् ॥

(R V — VIII — 55)

(Thy speech ess) face, round which the curls are

leeping

Their scattered watch is sad to look upon,

As in the night some lonely (lotus) sleeping

When musically humming bees are gone—T K R

অলক আবৃত্ত ভব নীবব বদন—

নিশায় নীবব অলি পঙ্কজ বিদ্যে

পঙ্কিত ভমনাবৃত্ত কণা যোন—

নিরখি ছু পদ উৎস উৎখলিছ যান ।—N D

The bereaved king further says—

Many things, which disappear, return, but Indumatī will never be restored to him—

शशिन पुनरेति शर्वरी दयिता द्वन्द्वचर पतस्त्रिणम् ।

इति तौ विरहान्तरक्षमौ कथन्त्यन्तगता न मा दहे ॥

R V — VIII — 56

(Night regains her Moon

The cuckoo finds his mate, and parting's pangs

Are cured by meeting—how canst thou, O Love,

Destroy my life by leaving me for aye)—

P, D L J

মিলেন শশীর সহ নিশি দিবাশেষে

উবা এলে চক্রবাকী মিলে পতি সনে,

দহিছে বিরহ ভাবা মিলনের আশে

এ চির বিবহ ভব সহিব কেমনে ?)—N D

She has been every precious thing to him—

गृहिणी सचिव सखी मित्र प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ ।

करुणा विमुखेन मृत्युना हरता त्वा वद किं न मे हृतम् ॥

R १—VIII—67

(गृहिणी आताड) तूणि निष्ठ-महाय,

श्रित शिष्या तूणि तत् सर्व-विद्याम् ,

इदं निम्न कालं त्वया देन धत्,

अतांगं किं न त्विदं हरणं ?)—N D

(You were my comrade gave my home, my treasure,
You were my bosom's friend, in all things true,
My best loved pupil in the arts of pleasure,
Stern Death took all I had in taking you)—T K R

Aja's lamentation for his wife resembles that of Rati for her husband narrated in *Kumarasambhava*, with the difference that Rati is assured of her husband's revival in the near future, while to Aja Indumati has been lost for ever—hence the poignancy of his sorrow

Then Vasishtha sends his disciple to console Aja in his bereavement by saying that death is the natural characteristic of living creatures, and life something unnatural—मरण प्रकृति शरीरिणा विकृतजीवितमुच्यते बुधैः, and by adding that he ought not to lament like common men for then there will be no difference between a tree and a mountain if both be tossed by the storm—
द्रुमस्तानुमतां किमन्तर, यदि वायौ द्रितयेऽपि ते चला Though the king respectfully accepts this consolation, it does not reach his heart, but it goes back to his preceptor along with his messenger

As his son Das'aratha is a mere child, Aja has to carry on, though very unwillingly, the work of the administration for eight years, at the end of which after installing his son as king he starves himself to death at the junction of the Sarayu and Ganges and becomes united in Paradise with his wife refulgent with heaven's beauty.

The ninth canto dwells on the virtues, prowess and rule of king Das'aratha of Uttara Kos'al or Oudh. He imitates his grandfather Raghu and conquers the whole of India from the ocean to his capital, which is as magnificent as the city of Kuvera described in the Meghaduta. Then he marries the three princesses, Kaus'alya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra of Kos'al, Keshava and Magadha respectively. Now he celebrates the As'vamedha with due pomp and circumstance.

It is the season of spring—

कुसुमजन्म ततो नवपल्लवास्तदनु षटपदकोकिलकूजितम् ।

इति यथाक्रममाचिरभून्मधुर्भवतीभवतीर्यं वनस्थलीम् ॥

R V —IX —26

(First burst the buds,

Then sprouted fresh green twigs, with hum of bees
And cuckoos' wooing note through tree clad

In order due thus Spring revealed himself) — glad-

P D L J

(मधुने वसन्त ऋतु इहिल उदय,

प्रकाशिल उदय दले नव किशलय,

पुत्रिल कानन बाजि कोकिल कानन,

निरुद्धे कुटिल कुल, उदयनिल अनिल)—N D

The glowing description of Spring in this epic resembles in main particulars that given by the Poet in his *Ritusamhara*. Das'a at last spends his honeymoon with his wives in the most delightful of all seasons—

After this he sets out on a hunting expedition, in which he is preceded by huntsmen with their hounds. He kills among others antelopes, buffaloes, rhinoceroses and lions. The Poet here gives a graphic description of the boar hunt—

उत्तस्थुष शिशिरपल्लवपङ्कमध्यानमुस्ताग्ररोहकवलावयवानुकीर्णम् ।
जग्राह स द्रवराहकुलस्य मार्गं सुव्यक्तमार्द्रपदपक्तिमिरायतामि ॥
त वाहनादवनतोत्तरकायमीषद्विध्यन्तमुद्रतसटा प्रतिहन्तुमीषु ।
नात्मानमस्य विविद्ध सहसा वराहा वृक्षेषु विद्धमिषूभिर्जघनाश्रयेषु ॥

(R V —IX-59 60)

(A path he followed where the half chewed grass
Had fallen and broad wet footprints clearly showed
Where ran a herd of boars escaped with speed
From muddy pools they rolled in Bristling high
They charged him boldly, while with death fraught
shafts,

His chest slight-bending from his horse, he shot
So dexterously, they knew not they were pinned
To trees 'gainst which they leaned) —P D L J

তাজি পৰলেব পঙ্ক বরাহ নিকব
ধাইল, মুক্তাব গ্রাস বাবে মুখ হতে ,
আঁৰ্জ পদচিহ্নতাজি বিবাজিল পথ—
সেই পথে দশবথ হলো অগ্রসব ।

অথ ব'তে অপ্রকা- নোয়ায় বাকন,

মুগ্ধকণ স্ববাহুব প্রকাবিয়া বাণ,

২৫ ১ পালপ তাৰে বিধিলা বধন

১১ ১ ববাহু তাহা, বোৰে হুজ্জান ।—\ D

He shoots with his arrow the son of a hermit, who is filling his beaker with water from the Tamasa (Tons) the sound of which he mistakes for the subdued cry of a wild elephant, the killing of which, the Poet says is forbidden. Hearing the cry of agony, the king hastens to the wounded boy whom he carries to his old and helpless parents, who before ascending the funeral pile pronounce on the repentant king the curse that he will so die in his old age on account of his separation from his darling son. The king appreciates the curse for the reason that it assures him of the birth of a son for which he has been longing.

The tenth canto begins with the description of the sonless state of the king, and the advent of the gods to the Great God Vishnu, who is lying on the hoods of the 'Ananta or Infinite Snake in the limitless Ocean. They praise Him in an appropriate hymn (see Chap VIII towards the end). Then they relate to him the oppression of the Rakshasa Ravana, whose arrogance, the Great God says has been increased by Brahma's blessing—that he will never be conquered by gods. Narayana condescends to assume the human form and put an end to the Demon's tyranny.

The king celebrates a special sacrifice called Putreshti, from the sacred fire of which a celestial being arises with porridge in a golden cup, which he

hands over to Dasāratha. The porridge is taken by the three queens, who dream that they are being guarded by angels, are being carried in the sky by Garuda and are being worshipped by the seven sages of Paradise. First Rama is born to Kausālya, then Bharata to Kaikeyī and then the twins Lakshmana and Satrugna to Sumitra—the four being incarnations of Vishnu. Their birth becomes the occasion of great rejoicing both in Heaven and on Earth. Lakshmana becomes attached to Rama, and Satrugna to Bharata. Their education proceeds on proper lines—

स्वाभाविक विनीतत्वं तेषां विनयकर्मणा ।

मुमुৰ্ত্তं सहজं तेजो हविषেব हविमुज्জाम् ॥ R V—X—79

(স্বত ই বিনয় গুণ ভূষিত কুমার,

বিনয় শিক্ষাব যোগে বাড়িল অপাব—

স্বভাবত নিজ রেজে উজ্জ্বল অনল,

স্বতেব আহতি যোগে অধিক উজ্জ্বল ।)—N D

(Self - restraint,

Inborn, by modest actions still increased,

As fed with fragrant unguents, fire's bright flame

More brilliant shows) —P D L J

The eleventh canto commences with the account of the sage Visvamitra's request to Dasāratha to permit his sons Rama and Lakshmana to accompany him to his hermitage ¹, which the king readily complies with. They kill the demoness Tataka and later on her son and Subahu, who oppress the hermits and prevent them from performing sacrifices.

1 In the Shahabad District (A G I)

Then the sage takes them to Janaka, the king of Mithilā,¹ whose daughter Sita will become the wife of him, who is able to break the formidable bow of Śiva, which is in the palace. Rama, though a mere boy, easily bends and breaks the divine bow. Janaka then sends the glad tidings by a messenger to Daśaratha, who comes with a large retinue. The marriage of Rama with Sita is followed by that of Lakshmana with her younger sister and those of Bharata and Śatrughna with the two daughters of Janaka's younger brother. When the king with his sons and daughters-in-law is returning home, Paras'urama the formidable enemy of the Kshatriyas, intercepts their progress, and asks Rama his namesake, who by breaking the bow at Janaka's palace has bereft him of his glory, either to bend his bow and discharge an arrow or to entreat him for his life. Rama takes Paras'urama's bow with a smile, and places an arrow on it, and asks him whether he will close with this arrow his free movement or his way to heaven. Paras'urama is now humiliated, and begs Rama to do the latter, as he does not want the delights of Paradise.

The victorious Rama then bows to his humbled rival for—

राक्षसोऽपि चरणौ तपोनिधे क्षम्यतामिति वदन् समस्तुष्टात् ।

निर्मितेषु तरसा तरस्विना शङ्खुषु प्रणतिरेव कीर्तये ॥

R V —XI 89

¹ The capital was Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border (A G I).

(Then Rama clasped his feet, and pardon craved
To bear him humbly toward a conquered foe
Fits well a Hero ') — P, D L J

(“সম, দ্বিজ” বলি রাম বিনয় বচনে

নমিল। সে বহাতপা মুনির চরণে—

পবাক্তিত বিপু প্রতি নম্র আচরণ

বিজয়ী বীরব পক্ষে যশের কাষণ ।)—V D ,

In the twelfth canto we are told that Das'aratha has become old and therefore wants to instal Rama as king His envious stepmother Kaikeyi wants the king to grant the two boons, which he promised before Her husband is staggered by her two prayers, one of which is the banishment of Rama for fourteen years and the other is the installation of her son, Bharata, as king But Rama, a dutiful son as he is, is not in the least affected—

পিতা দত্তা কদনু রাম শাস্ত্রমহী মত্বেপদন্ত ।

পশ্চাদ্বনাথ গচ্ছতি তদাঙ্গা মুদিতোমহীব ॥

R V —XII—7

(With tears

At bidding of his father, Rama took

The world wide realm, but with all cheerfulness

Received the doom of exile)—P D L J

(জনকেব রাজ্যত্যাগে বিবাক্তিত মন,

সম্মত ছিলেন বাম নিতে রাজ্যভাগ ,

দীর্ঘ বনবাস ক্লেশ হববে এখন

গ্রহিলেন পালিবারে আদেশ পিতার)—N D

Then Rama to enable his father to redeem his promises proceeds to the Dandaka forest with Sita and Lakshmana. This great disappointment and painful bereavement aggravated by the remembrance of the hermits' curse hasten the death of Daśaratha.

When Bharata learns on his return home what has happened, he becomes annoyed with his mother, and declines to accept kingship, and proceeds to the Chitrakuta¹ forest to acquaint Rama with his father's death and to request him to become king, to which Rama does not agree, as he is unable to transgress the commands of his deceased father. Bharata now takes from Rama his shoes, with which he comes to Nandi grāma and not to Ayodhya, to administer the kingdom on behalf of his elder brother.

Then Rama fights with many Rākshasas and kills them and meets in the Panchavati² forest on the Godavari, Surpanakha who proposes marriage with him and later on with Lakshmana. When her proposal is rejected, she becomes furious, and Lakshmana instead of killing her, cuts off her nose and ears. Ravana, her brother, being incensed by this insult to his sister, kidnaps Sita during the absence of Rama and Lakshmana, who have gone to kill a deer, whose form Ravana's attendant has assumed.

Then Rama, who learns from the bird Jatayu that Ravana is the culprit, allies himself with the monkey

1 Twelve miles from Markunda Station in Hamirpur west of Banda. On the top of the hill are the stone figures of Rāma Lakshmana and Sītā.

2 Near modern Nāsik (from nāsikā—nose)

king Sugriva after killing his brother Vali Sugriva sends Hanuman to bring the news of Sita. He crosses the sea, proceeds to Lanka and sees Sita, to whom he presents Rama's ring, and after killing a Rakshasa of the name of Aksha and burning Lanka, comes back to Rama with Sita's gem as a memento

Rama then encamps with his army on the shore before crossing the sea, where Ravana's pious brother, Bibhishana, joins him. A bridge is constructed. The sea is crossed. The two armies meet. Victory wavers between the two sides.

Ravana wants to convince Sita of the death of her husband by showing her a false decapitated head. When she revives from her faint on being informed by Trijata that it is an illusion, her mind is filled with great shame—

কাম জীবতি মে নাথ ইতি সা বিজহৌ শ্রুত ।

প্রাণ্যত্বা সত্যমন্ত্যন্ত জীবিতাকীতি ভজিতা ॥

(R. V —XII—75)

(At this healing word,

Her sorrow turned to joy, yet loving shame
Still ruled her as she thought—' I yet could live,
While thinking He was dead ')—P. D. L. J.

(জানকী ভাঙ্গিয়া শোক, জানিলা স্বধন

কুশলে শিবিরে প্রভু আছেন জীবিত ,

কিন্তু পূর্বে মৃত্যু বার্তা করিয়া শ্রবণ,

বয়েছিল নিজপ্রাণ ভাবিয়া ভজিত ।)—N. D.

Rama on the chariot sent by Indra now meets his formidable enemy, the ten headed demon Ravana,

whom he slays after a protracted fight

After purifying his chaste wife, Sita, with fire, and installing his friend Bibhishana, as the king of Lanka, Rama begins his homeward journey with his wife, Lakshmana, Bibhishana and the monkey host in an aerial chariot

The thirteenth canto begins with Rama's graphic description to his dear consort of the sea, which has been beautifully divided by his bridge, as the moon lit autumnal sky is cut into two parts by the bright stars of the Milky Way. Rain bearing clouds are formed by the rays of the sun, which draw water from the sea, the birth place of pearls. Many hills being pursued by Indra have taken refuge in the sea. The sea is a devoted husband—

মুখ্যায়ণেষু প্রকৃতিপ্রগলভা স্বয়ং তরঙ্গাধরদানবদ্বন্দ্ব ।

অনন্যসামান্যকলসবৃত্তি পিঙ্গলসৌ পায়তে চ সিন্ধু ॥

R V—XIII—9

(All his wives,
Impartial in his love, he greets alike,
With wavy lips receiving kisses sweet
From eager river mouths—P D L J

(অপরূপ প্রেমের খেলা খেলেন সাগর—

শতমুখে নদীকূল চুষিছে তাঁরাবে ,

প্রদানি তাদের মুখে তবঙ্গ অধব,

চতুর্দ সন্নিভ পতি তোষেন নবাবে ।)—N D

In the sea are to be found whales emitting water through their heads, alligators big as elephants, foam-

ornamented sea-elephants, and bright sea serpents
Now the car approaches the shore—

दूरादयश्चक्रनिभस्य तन्वी तमालतालीवनराजिनीला ।

आभाति वेला लवणाम्बुराशेर्जानिबद्धे व कलङ्करेखा ॥

R V —XIII—15

(Along the salt deep's shore,
That stretches slender like a copper rim,
Wave dark Tamalas mixed with forest palms,
Like streak of rust on polished metal's gleam)—

—P D L J

(শোভিছে লবণসিদ্ধ শ্যামকলেবর

লৌহচক্র প্রায়, দেখ, ব্যাপি দিগন্তব ,

স্বল্প গগনপ্রান্তে স্বল্প নীলিমায়

শোভে তীর বনবাজি পবিধির প্রায় ।)—N D

Bhasa's description of the Ocean (see p 202) is grand in its simplicity, Kalidasa's is picturesque and sometimes sublime, in its variety Both evince a close and accurate observation of the things around them Bhasa is like a child who for the first time approaches this awful watery expanse, but Kalidasa like a trained artist wants to make the most of this wonderful creation of Nature He lays under contribution the Ramayana and other Puranas, Politics, Physics and above all his own prolific imagination,

The effectiveness of the verse quoted above is apparent only to those who have actually seen the sea Rama is of course represented as progressing in his aerial chariot over the sea towards the shore A similar impression results from watching the sea from the beach towards the

horizon which looks like the dark blue rim of a gigantic wheel. But the waters next to it appear to be blue and motionless (cf निष्कम्पसलिल of Bhaṣa). Then we find a large area of bluish ruffled water like a solution of sulphate of copper. But as the waves rush towards the shore in quick succession (cf बीचीमल of Bhaṣa), they become as Bhaṣa says फेनोद्गारी or foam emitting, and break themselves into a seething silvery mass and later on become gray, when they dash themselves on and become mixed with the coast sand. This is the aspect of the ocean when the sky is a little clouded, but when it is overcast, the whole surface from the dark horizontal rim to the shore appears to be a homogeneous expanse of blue water. As Kalidasa says, its aspects are as manifold as those of Vishnu, the Highest God.

The aerial chariot now reaches the sea coast which is strewn with pearls and is full of nut trees, which bend with their fruit.

The chariot sometimes ascends and sometimes descends in the regions of the air—

कचिद् पथा सञ्चरते सुराणां कचिद्घनानां पतता कचिच्च ।

यथाविद्यो मे मनसोऽभिलाषं प्रवर्त्तते पश्य तथा विमानम् ॥

(R V —XIII 19).

(Obedient to my will this car divine

Cleaves now the sphere of gods, anon of clouds,

Now skims the path of birds)—

P D L J

(চলিছে পুংগব মনোবশে প্রায় ,

কছু বা জিহিব-পথে করিছে গমন,

কছু বিজলীর বেগে মেঘ-মাঝে ধায়

খগ-পথে কছু রথ করে বিচরণ ।)—N D

Then Rama points out to his wife the objects associated with her during his painful bereavement—the place where her anklet was found, the creepers which showed with their pliant branches the way which her captor took, the deer which also sympathised with Rama in his affliction and indicated the direction in which Sita had been conveyed—

सुग्यश्च दर्भाङ्कुरनिर्व्यपेक्षास्तवागतिश्च समबोधयन्माम् ।

व्यापारयन्तमो दिशि दक्षिणस्यामुत्पक्षमरात्रीनि यिलोचनानि ॥

(R V—XIII 25).

(The deer were kind, for while the juicy grasses
Fell quite unheeded from each careless mouth,
They turned wide eyes, that said, "Tis there she
passes

The hours as weary captive," toward the south)

—T K R

(না জানিছ কোথা তুমি কবিলে গমন,

কুশাঙ্কুর তাজি তাই যুগবধুগণে

দাঁড়ায় কবিল দৃষ্টি দক্ষিণে ক্ষেপণ,

উর্দ্ধ বেথ পক্ষ রাজি শোভিত নয়নে ॥)—N D

Rama then shows Sita the Pampa lake,¹ the fruit laden As'oka tree on the bank of which in his love lorn mood he wanted to embrace (like Pururava in the Vikramorvasí), the Panchavati on the Godavari, where Sita tended mango saplings with potsful of water, the musical five nymph pleasure-tank of S'ata-karni, whom Indra tempted with five beautiful nymphs

¹ The Pampa river falls into the Tungabhadra before Anagandi—W

of Paradise, the pilgrim-refreshing hermitage of the sage S'arabhangā, who satisfied the hungry god of fire with his own body, the hill Chitrakuta with the Mandakini¹ flowing at its foot, and the hermitage of Atri, where sages are now sitting in the Virasana attitude. At last the chariot comes to Prayaga, its ever-green Fig Tree², and the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamunā, the different colours of which must have produced a deep impression on the mind of the Poet, as he describes them most effectively by means of seven beautiful images—

কবিত্ব প্রভালেপিভিরিদ্ভনীলৈর্মু'কামযী যষ্টিরিবানুবিদ্ধা ।
 অনন্য মাল্য সিতপঙ্কজানামিন্দীবরৈরুৎখচিতান্তরেব ॥
 কবিত্বগগানা প্রিয়মানসানা কাদম্বসসর্গবতীব পলকি ।
 অনন্য কাল্যুগুদতপস্যা মক্ষিষু'বশ্চন্দনকল্পিতেব ॥
 কবিত্ব প্রভা চান্দ্রমসী তমোমিশ্রায়াবিলীনৈ শবলীকৃতেব ।
 অনন্য শুভ্রা শরদ্রভলেক্ষা রম্ভ্রে প্বিবালাক্ষয়নম প্রদেশা ॥
 কবিত্ব কৃষ্ণোরগমুখণেব মস্মাদ্ভরাগা তনুরীম্বরসম ।
 পশ্যানবঘাঙ্গি । বিমালি গগ্না মিত্রপ্রবাহা যমুনাতরঙ্গৈ ॥

(R. V — XIII—54 to 57).

(সুনীল যমুনাজলে মিলি কুড়ুলে,
 বহিছেন ঐ শ্বেত স্রব তবঙ্গিনী
 মুকুতাশরে গাঁথা বেন হৈসুনীলমণি ,
 শ্বেত পদ্মমালা কিবা নীল উৎপলে ,

1 A streamlet which issues from Chitrakuta (see above) in Hamirpur, on which the hermitage of Atri stood.—N D

2 Called Akshaya Vata

মানসেব হ সবাঙ্কি ধবলববণ
নীল হ সদলে যেন হয়েছে মিলিত ,
ভূতলে চিত্রিত শ্বেত চন্দনবচনা
শোভে যেন কৃষ্ণপত্রে অশুক অঙ্কিত ,
কোথাও জোছনা জাল যেন বে চিত্রিত
স্থানে স্থান ছায়া নীন তিমির-পটলে ,
কোথাও বা শবদেব শুভ্র অত্রদলে
ভেদি যেন নীলাকাশ হতেছে লঙ্কিত ?
ধবল ভবেশ-অঙ্গ বিভূতি ভূষিত
বহিয়াছে যেন কৃষ্ণ ভুজঙ্গে বেষ্টিত ,
এরূপে কতই রূপ হের, বধাননে,
ধরণে জাহ্নবী মিলি যমুনা'ব সনে ॥)—N D

¶Look Lady, perfect limbed, how that spot shines
Where Ganga fair with dark Yamuna joins ,
Bright emeralds here in a string of pearls ,
Blue lotuses there set at intervals
In a wreath beautiful of white ones strung ,
Blue geese here flying in the sky among
White swans Manasa fond in lines arrayed ,
In a white sandal ground adroitly made,
Aguru figures black with art well laid ,
There moonlight bright diversified with shade ,
The Autumn cloud streak white through openings
made

In which, here blue sky patches are well read ,
There S'iva's body white with ashes smeared
And decked with vipers black with hoods upreared)
The graphic description of the various places

which Rāma and Sītā visit on their way home, resembles that of the localities in the suggested journey of the Cloud messenger in the Meghaduta

After crossing the Ganges the aerial car takes the party to the motherlike Sarayū river of the Ikshvāku dynasty of which Rāma is a scion. He then points out to Sītā the dust raised at a distance, by the retinue of Bharata, who hearing from Hanuman Rāma's advent, has been coming to welcome him home.

The chariot now descends, Rāma bows to Vasishtha and is greeted by Bharata, whom and Śātrughna he embraces. Then he exchanges greetings with the old ministers, and introduces Bibhishana and Sugriva as his trusted allies and friends. Bharata then welcomes Sītā by prostrating himself at her feet.

The fourteenth canto opens with Rāma's and Lakshmana's bowing to their mothers Kausālyā and Sumitrā, whom Sītā also greets by saying—

কুশাবহা মর্ত্য রলক্ষণাহ সীতেতি নাম স্বমুদীরয়ন্তী ।
স্বর্গপ্রতিষ্ঠস্য গুরোর্মহিষ্যাবভকিমিহেদে ন বধূর্বয়ন্তে ॥
অলিষ্ট বদন্তে । ননু সানুজোঽসৌ কৃত্তেন মর্ত্য শূচিনা তবৈব ।
কৃচ্ছ্র মহতীর্ণ ইতি প্রিয়াহাঁ তাস্মৈবতুস্তে প্রিয়মপ্যমিথয়া ॥

R V —XIV—5 and 6

(“পতিব হু খের হেতু আমি অলক্ষণা”

এ বলিয়া নিজ নাম প্রকাশি বিষাদে,

সমভক্তিভাবে সীতা করিলা বন্দনা

পতি-বিবহিতা উভ খাণ্ডীর পদে ।

“উঠ, বৎসে, পতি তব দেবলৈব সনে

তবিল তোমাৰি গুণে বিপদ মাৰাৰে”,

সজ্জাবিহা হেন সত্য মধুব বচনে

কৌশল্যা হুমিত্ৰা ৰাণী তোষিলা সীতাত্ৰে ।)—N D

(“Lo, here is Sita, fatal to her Lord,

Not worthy your regard ” “Dear Daughter, rise ”

(So said they), “Twas thy spotless life alone

That brought thy Lord and Lakshman through

their toils

Triumphant ” Thus with loving words and true

They praised her, worthy wife of worthy Lord)

—P D L J

Then Rama is crowned king with proper ceremony, after which he enters mournfully the room formerly occupied by his lamented father and containing his portrait. Here he extricates his step mother Kaikeyi from a delicate situation by telling her that his father has been enabled by her piety to keep his word and not to deviate from truth and thereby to attain heaven. Then Rama takes up the reins of government with his mind solely directed to the well-being of his subjects. Ayodhya becomes very happy and prosperous. Now a wicked rumour reaches him that he has done amiss by accepting as his wife one who abode long in the house of the Rakshasa. Rama decides upon banishing his devoted and chaste wife, though very unwillingly and sorrowfully, and asks Lakshmana to take Sita, in accordance with her previous request, to a peaceful hermitage on the Ganges. Lakshmana, whose obedience to his brother is proverbial, takes

Sita, in a chariot with great reluctance to the place between the Ganges and Tamas, and communicates to her his brother's wish Sita is stunned by the message—

ततोऽभिषङ्गा निलचिप्रविद्धा प्रभ्रश्यमानाभरणप्रसूना ।

स्वमूर्त्तिलाभपूकृति धरित्रीं लतेव सीता सहसा जगाम ॥

R V—XIV—54

(With sudden terror smitten, Sita fell
To earth, her own dear Mother, fell, as falls
A creeper torn by rushing blast of wind
From its supporting trunk and shed her gauds
Like withered blossoms) —P D L J

(বাতাহত লতাপ্রাণ হারবে অমনি

শোকেব আবেগে সীতা হইলা মুচ্ছিত,

মাতৃরূপী ভূমিতলে পড়িলা তখনি,

পুষ্পরূপে আভরণ হল বিগলিত ।)—N D

On her regaining consciousness Lakshmana asks her to excuse his cruel treatment Sita blesses him, and says that he is not to blame in the least for what has happened She then requests Lakshmana to tender her respects to her mothers-in-law, who should bless the child in her womb and to tell her husband—

वाच्यस्त्वया मङ्गलनात् स राजा, बह्वौ विशुद्धामपि यत् समक्षम् ।

मा लोकवादश्रवणादहासी श्रुत्य किं तत् सहसा कुलस्य ॥

R V—XIV—61

(Thyself hast seen me purified by fire,
Yet now forsakest, fearing scandal's breath—
Mere words does this beseem thy noble race ?)

—P D L J .

(কহিও বাজাবে তিনি অধিপন্নীকার
অচক্ষে দেখিলা মম বিগত চরিত ,
লোক নিন্দা ভয়ে তবু ত্যজিলা আমার
বিখ্যাত ঈশ্বর-কূলে এই কি উচিত ?)—N D

Her temporary irritation passes away, and she adds that she will practise austerities for this boon—

साह तप सूर्यनिविष्टदृष्टिरुद्धं पूसूतेऽचरितु यत्तिये ।
भूयो यथा मे जननान्तरेऽपि स्वमेव भर्ता न च विप्रयोग ॥

—R V—XIV—66

But, once thy son is born,
Unswerving I shall fix my weary eyes
On yon bright Sun, and by severest modes
Of penance strive that in some future life
Thou only be my Lord, my Lord for aye !—

—P D L J

(তপস্তা করিব আমি প্রসবেব পবে
সূর্য্যপানে স্থাপি দৃষ্টি, করিছি নিশ্চয়,
পাই যেন এই পতি জন্মজন্মান্তবে,
কিন্তু যেন এ বিবহ ভূগিতে না হয় ।)—N D

Lakshmana now leaves for Ayodhya. Even Nature sympathises with Sita in her great sorrow—

नृत्य मयूरा कुसुमानि वृक्षा दर्मानुपात्तान् विजहुर्हरिणः ।
तस्या पृषन्ने समस्त खभावमतमन्वमासीद्विदित बनेऽपि ॥

R V—XIV—69

(In sympathy gay peacocks ceased their dance,
Trees shed their blossoms, deer the fragrant grass
They scarce had cropped through all the forest
passed

A moan unending)—P D L J

(মধুব তাজিল নৃত্য শাখী ঢাঙে ফুল ,
হবিনী কুশেব গ্রাস ফেলে শোকাফুল ,
জানকীব হু থে হু খী নিখিল বানন,
উঠিল সে বনভূমে তুমুল রোদন ।)—N D

This sympathy of Nature with man is also feelingly described by the Poet in *Abhijnana Ś'kuntalam*, when *Sakuntalā* leaves her father's hermitage for her husband's capital. This is also found in the Poet's description of trees shedding tear like honey or gum (*মকরন্দ*) in sympathy with *Aja* who grieves bitterly for the untimely death of his beloved wife (R V—VIII—70)

Sita's lamentation attracts the attention of the poet sage *Valmiki*, who blames *Rama* and takes her to his peaceful hermitage,¹ where she is taken care of by its female inmates

After *Lakshmana's* return to the capital and telling his brother that his orders have been carried out, *Rama* sheds tears, and consoles himself with *Sita's* golden image as best as he can

At the commencement of the fifteenth canto several hermits are described as approaching *Rama* with the request that he should kill *Lavana* a formidable *Rākshasa*, who has been interfering with their

sacrifices Rama sends his brother, Satrughna, with an army for the purpose. On his way to Lavana's city, he passes through Vālmiki's hermitage, where two sons Lava and Kusá are given birth to by his eldest brother's wife. The man eating demon is slain by Sātrughna after an arduous fight. Then he founds a prosperous city, Mathura, on the Yamuna. On his return to Ayodhya, the victor is heartily greeted by the populace. He does not tell Rama anything about the birth of his sons as Vālmiki has promised to do it himself.

Then a Brahman comes to the court of Rama with a dead child in his arms and accuses him of misrule, by which the premature death of his child, he alleges, has been caused. Rama now finds out after a long search that this calamity has been due to the unauthorised religious austerities of a Śūdra, named Śāmbuka. Rama, the champion of Brāhmanism, beheads him—an act which obtains, it appears, the Poet's approval.

Then arrangements are made for an Asvamedha sacrifice on a grand scale. All the sages are invited to witness the ceremony. Bibhishana and Sugriva come with costly presents. Rama celebrates the sacrifice with the golden image of Sita before him.

Meanwhile Lava and Kusá, the sons of Rama, who at the request of Vālmiki have been visiting various places and singing his epic dealing with the incidents of Rama's life, come to the court of their father, and being asked, sing the Ramāyana in a melodious voice, which captivates the audience—

বৃত্ত রামস্য বাহ্মীকে কৃতিস্তৌ কিল্লরহনৌ ।

কি তদ্যে ন মনোহর্তুমক স্যাতা ন শৃঙ্খতাম্ ॥

R V —XV 64

(একে ত বামেব চরিত ললিত,

তাহে বাহ্মীকির অপূৰ্ণ সঙ্গীত ,

কিল্লর অরবে কুশ লব গায়

কে আছে ধরায় মুগ্ধ নহে তার ?)—N D

(To their depths

They stirred the souls of men with Rama's deeds,

Valmiki's matchless strains, their own sweet tones

Like Heaven's minstrelsy) —P D L J

They decline to receive the rewards proffered by Rama On being asked about the author of the song, they mention the name of Valmiki, whom Rama approaches and who tells him that they are his sons, and asks him to take back Sita to which Rama agrees on condition that she should remove doubts regarding her purity from the minds of his subjects Valmiki then brings Sita from his hermitage, and asks her to remove all suspicion regarding her character After washing her hands with sacred water, she addresses her mother Earth thus—

বাহ্মন কৰ্ম্মাণি পত্নী জ্যমিচারো যথা ন মে ।

তথা বিশ্বম্ভরে দেবি মামন্তৰ্জাতুমহঁসি ॥

R. V —XV 81

(' All fostering Goddess Earth,

If I in word, in thought, in deed have still

Held to my lord, not strayed from duty's path

One hair's breath,—hide me in thy loving arms")

—P D L J

(পতি হ'তে আমি বাক্য-কার মনে

না হইয়া থাকি যদি বিচলিত,

তবে, বসুন্ধরে ' তব ও চরণে

দিয়া স্থান মোরে কব অন্তর্হিত ।)—N D

As soon as she utters these words, a goddess sitting on a throne placed on the hood of a serpent and surrounded by a circle of bright light, makes her appearance through an opening of the earth, and in spite of Rama's protests places Sita on her lap and disappears. Thus the chastity of Sita becomes triumphant, and Rama's love for his subjects is consummated by the highest of sacrifices.

Then the four brothers, parts of the God Vishnu, entrusting the administration of their kingdom to their several sons, go back to heaven after drowning themselves in the Sarayu.

The sixteenth canto introduces to us Kus'a who being eldest succeeds to most of the possessions of Ramachandra and makes Kus'avati¹ his capital. After sometime when he is sleeping at night in a room, the doors of which are barred, there appears to him a beautiful woman the goddess of Ayodhya, who describes graphically to him the lost splendour and desolation of the once magnificent city—

সোপানমার্গেষু চ যেষু রামা নিদ্রিতবত্য়ম্ভরাণাম্ সরাগান্ ॥

সখো হতনগকুমিরজদিগ্ধ ব্যাঘ্রৈ পদ তেষু নিশীযতেঽদ্য ॥

1 See also Rāmāyana Uttarakanda (Asiatic Society of Bengal Ed.) Chap. 107 verses 7th and 17th and Chapter 108—4th verse, where Kus'avati is mentioned as situated near the Vindhya hills.

* * * * *
 काकागतरक्षामधुमेषु न कमितस्ततो रुद्रवृणाङ्कुरेषु ।

त एव मुक्तागुणश्चुद्धयोऽपि हर्म्येषु मूर्च्छन्ति न कन्दमपादा ॥

—R V—XVI—15, 18

(On stairways where (fair ladies) once were glad
 To leave their pink and graceful foot prints, now
 Unwelcome bloodstained paws of tigers pad,
 Fresh smeared from the slaughter of the forest deer)

— T K R

* * * * *

(The fair Moon's beams

Though pure as virgin pearl, get back no ray
 From tiles time blackened of the palace roof
 Now flecked with grass tufts)—P D L J

অলঙ্ক-বজ্রিত চরণে যেথায়

চলিত প্রমদা সোপান নিকবে

সত্ত্ব মৃগবক্তে আর্দ্রপদে হায়

সে পদে এখন শাদ্দুল বিচবে ।

জোছনার রাশি মুকুতা উজল

প্রাশাদ উপরে নাহি ঝলে আব ,

অগ্নিরাছে তাহে তৃণাক্ষুবদল

চুণের প্রলেপ হয়েছে অজাব ॥) N D

Pleasure-gardens, where girls gently bent the twigs
 and plucked their flowers, are being desecrated by
 monkeys The windows of houses not being lit by
 lamps at night nor by fair faces in the day, and being
 bereft of the smoke of incense, have been covered with

cobwebs. Sacrifices are no longer offered on the banks of the Sarayu, and its water no longer exhales the perfumes of gay bathers.

The goddess therefore requests Kusa to transfer his capital from Kusávatī to Ayodhya, and to make the latter as glorious as it was in the days of Ramachandra. Kusá accepts this advice, and on the day following, entrusting the administration of Kusávatī to his Bráhmaṇa ministers, leaves with his family and army for the city of his forefathers. He crosses the Narmadā and the Vindhya, and then the Ganges and the Sarayu, and reaches Ayodhya, which after some time becomes as prosperous as it was in the days of its glory.

One day while the king is bathing with his queens in the Sarayu, his bracelet suddenly disappears, which, he concludes, has been stolen by Kumuda Naga. Kusa is on the point of punishing him for his insolence, when he appears with his beautiful sister Kumudvatī, and offers her to him for marriage.

The seventeenth canto introduces to us Atithi, the offspring of Kusá's union with Kumudvatī. After his education is completed, the king gives him in marriage to suitable princesses.

In the war with a demon waged by the king at the request of Indra, both the king and his enemy are slain. His wife Kumudvatī burns herself on her husband's funeral pyre, and both of them are taken to heaven and have Indra and S'achi as their friends respectively.

The ministers of Kusá in accordance with his last

wish crown Atithi as king He is installed with due pomp and ceremony Prisoners are released, and capital sentences are remitted on this auspicious occasion Even lower animals are not neglected beasts of burden and parrots are freed, and the milking of cows is prohibited at least for the time being Atithi's own prowess and his preceptor Vasishtha's spiritual power combine to make him very powerful He giving up idleness decides civil cases in consultation with virtuous ministers The population of his kingdom begins to increase by leaps and bounds In attending to the improvement of his kingdom he does not neglect his own culture—

অনিতয়া শত্রবো বাহ্যয়া বিপ্লবুদ্ভাষ্য তে যত্ন ।

অত সৌভাগ্যন্তরান্নিতয়ান্ন বদ্যুর্ভমজয়দ্বিপুন ॥

R V XVII—45

(But foreign foes are distant nor will give
Perpetual trouble, with unwearied care
'Gainst banded foes within, the passions six,
He waged unceasing war)—P D L J

(অনিত্য অবাতি শত্রু মনে গণে ভূপ,

দূবে অবস্থানকৃত তুচ্ছ ভাবে নৃপ ।

কিন্তু নিত্য হব আভ্যন্তর বিপ্লু ছয়,

করেন অতিথি অগ্রে তাহা পবাক্ষয় ॥)

He never initiates any important measures without consulting his ministers He employs a large number of spies to watch the movements of both his friends and foes He goes to war only with those

whom he can overcome He prefers alliance with the princes of the middle class—

हीनानयनुपकर्तुं णि पूबुद्धानि विकुर्वते ।

तेन मध्यमशक्तीनि मित्राणि स्थापितानयत ॥

R V,—XVII—58

(Alliances with weak kings are ineffectual, and those with very powerful monarchs lead to mischief Hence Atithi allies himself only with Middle Powers)

(हीनावস্থ নূপ সহ সৌহর্দে কি ফল ?

প্রবৃদ্ধ রাজ্যাব মৈত্রী নাহি দেয় বল ।

মধ্যম শক্তি সহ সন্ধিব স্থাপনে

কার্যকরী হবে কালে নূপ মনে গণে ॥

He is aware that prosperous financial condition contributes considerably to the strength of a state, and his economy keeps its coffers always full He pays due attention to his army, as he does to his own body, and thus he makes both strong and powerful Internal and external peace ensures the due performance of religious rites and makes trade, commerce and agriculture flourish, and leads to the increase of revenue Mines are exploited for minerals and forests for elephants The needy, who approach him, become always the objects of his charity Though he does not like his own praise, yet the fame of his prowess and virtues is proclaimed throughout his kingdom

The eighteenth canto describes the birth of Nishadha, Atithi's son by the daughter of Arthapati (king of Nishadha) who succeeds Atithi on his death

He is succeeded by his son Nala, who is followed by his son Nābha Pundarika, his son, succeeds him and retires from the world after resigning his kingdom to his son, Kshemadhanva. He is succeeded by Devānika, whose son Ahinagu ascends the throne on his father's death. His son Pariyatra follows him. He is succeeded by his son Sīlā. Sīlā is succeeded by Unnabha, Unnabha by Vajranabha, he by S'ankhana, he by Vyushitis'va, he by Vis'vasaha, he by Hiranyanābha, he by Kausalya, he by Brahmanishtha, he by Puttra, he by Pushpa. He by Dhruvasandhi and he by Sudars'ana. Sudars'ana ascends the throne, when he is a mere child as his father is killed by a lion during a hunt. His ministers marry him to a beautiful princess when he reaches marriageable age.

The nineteenth canto introduces us to Agnivarna, the son of Sudars'ana, after whose installation Sudars'ana retires for religious contemplation to the Naimisha¹ forest. Though Agnivarna succeeds to the peaceful and prosperous kingdom left by his father, he entrusts its administration to his ministers and becomes addicted to wine and the company of women, which bring on consumption and premature death. The consequence of too much relish for worldly things, विषयासक्ति, referred to by Saradvata (A S—V—38)—an important characteristic of Gupta rule is foreseen by the Poet, who gives in Agnivarna's death a warning to his contemporaries and specially to the members of his patron's family.

1 Twenty miles south of Sitapur on the Gomati (A G I)

The names of many of the kings after Atithi suggest to the Poet the histories of their reigns. The epic ends abruptly with Agnivarna, most probably because its completion is prevented by the Poet's fatal illness. The Vishnupurāṇa mentions eight kings after Agnivarna, the last of whom Brihadvala is killed by Abhimanyu in the great Kuru-Pāṇḍava War¹

The Kāvya style reaches its acme in the Raghuvamśam, after which it begins to decline. Kālidāsa always observes a due proportion between sentiment and thought on the one hand and rhetorical and prosodial embellishments on the other, and is aware that the former are more important than the latter. But his successors ignore this valuable precept, and allow ornaments to suffocate thought and sentiment. In this connexion Mr. Ryder says, "He (Kālidāsa) was completely master of his learning. In an age and a country which reprobated carelessness, but were tolerant of pedantry, he held the scales with a wonderfully even hand, never heedless and never indulging in the elaborate trifling with Sanskrit diction which repels the reader from much of Indian literature"²

Though Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, Raghuvamśa and Kumarasambhava are called by Hindu Rhetoricians Mahākavyas, Western Scholars prefer to designate the first two as epics composed in the Epic Age and the

1 Vishnupurāṇa—Book IV—Ch IV

2 T K R—p XX.

last two as Kavyas written in the Classical Age "The Kavya" according to them "is a narrative poem written in a sophisticated age by a learned Poet who possesses all the resources of an elaborate rhetoric and metric. The poem is divided into cantos, which are subdivided into stanzas. Several stanza forms are commonly employed in the same poem, though not in the same canto, except that the concluding verses of a canto are not infrequently written in a metre of more compass than the remainder" ¹

Mr Ryder has referred to the lack of unity in the plot of Raghuvams'am "There are in truth six (seven?) heroes each of whom has to die to make room for his successor' This criticism is just, but we should remember that the object of the Poet is to exalt his patrons Chandragupta II, Kumaragupta I, and Skandagupta under the semblance of an epic dealing with Rama, his predecessors and his successors. That is the reason why he calls it Raghuvams'am and not Rama-charitam, though as many as six cantos (X to XV) are devoted to Rama, and only two cantos and a half (III, IV and the first thirtyfive verses of V) describe Raghu and his achievements. Nor does he designate it even as Dilipa vams'am, though Dilipa is the first famous king of this dynasty and is renowned for his good rule, valour, self sacrifice and righteousness, and though more than two cantos deal with him and though the king is none but Samudragupta the Great, the father of Chandragupta II the Poet's patron

¹ Ibid—p XV

Mr Ryder also says "It (Raghuvamsam) was, without serious question, one of his earlier works

The Poet presents himself as an aspirant for literary fame No writer of established reputation would be likely to say —

"The fool who seeks a poet's fame,
Must look for ridicule and blame,
Like tiptoe dwarf who fain would try
"To pluck the fruit for giants high "

He evidently refers to the verse मन्द वामन (R V—I—3 see p 252) It appears that the critic has misunderstood the tenour of the introductory verses (R V—I—2 to 9) Kalidasa simply pleads his inability to do justice to the achievements of his great Patron's line—this being another device of the Poet to belaud his first patron's family—(cf क सूर्यपूज्यो वक्त्र क चाख्याविषया मति , again रघूणामन्वय वक्ष्ये तनुवाग्द्विभक्तोऽपि सन् I—2 & 9) Further the Poet's confidence in himself is evident from his statement—त सन्तः श्रोतुमर्हन्ति सदसव्यकिहेतवः (10—only those wise men who can distinguish between right and wrong are fit to study my work)

The Raghuvamsam was begun in the reign of Kumāragupta I, after at least the first eight cantos of Kumarasambhavam had been finished , but it was like Kumarasambhavam left incomplete and resumed in the reign of Skandagupta

There is considerable similarity between some passages of Raghuvamsam and some of Kumarasambhavam The ladies of Himagiri appear to be as curious

as those of Vīdarbha to see the bridegroom's procession and so leave their toilet incomplete (K S.—VII—56 to 64 and R V—VII—5 to 12) Compare also काननमेव सर्षा चित्तापि तारम्भ इवावतस्थे (K S—III—42) and सक्ताङ्गुलिः सायकपुङ्ख एव चित्तापि तारम्भ इवावतस्थे (R. V—II—31)—in one case the whole forest and in the other the right hand remained motionless as in a picture. अपवादेरिवोत्सर्गः कृतन्यावृत्तय परै. (K S.—II—27) and अपवाद इवोत्सर्गं न्यवर्त्तयितुमीश्वर (R. V—XV—7)—in both of which there is a reference to a special grammatical rule suppressing for the time being a general grammatical principle, and चन्द्रोदयारम्भ इवाम्बुराशि (K S—III—67) and निगतस्तिमिता वेला चन्द्रोदय इवोदधे (R V—XII—36), both of which allude to the swelling of the ocean on the rising of the moon

Chapter VII

Evidence of Na'taka Development

'The drama which has no religious element as its foundation, is not merely not an important and not a good thing, but the most trivial and despicable of things'

—Tolstoy

Though in the Vedas there are dialogues like those between Yama and Yami, between Pururavas and Urvasí -Pururavas rebukes the Nymph's inconstancy, but cannot prevent her from leaving him and between Vas'ishtha and his sons, and between Indra and the Maruts and there are dances of men and women, and secular songs like the battle hymns of Visvamitra and Vasishtha, and though as Dr Keith says the Vedic ritual, included ceremonies in which the performers assumed personalities other than their own, as those of the Soma seller and Soma buyer, still there was nothing like drama in the true sense of the term, in which all these coexist, and in which there is a plot deliberately constructed and represented by actors to afford delight to the audience ¹

In the Natya Śāstra of Bharata it is mentioned that Drama originated from the imitation by gods before the banner of Indra of their war with and

1 Dr. Macdonell and Keith

victory over Demons The gods borrowed in this play the dialogue from the R̥gveda, the song from the S̥amaveda representation from the Yajurveda, and sentiment from the Atharva veda

The Mahabhārata and Rāmayana mention natas (nat the Pr̥krit form of नृत—to dance, from which nātaka is also derived) who were probably dancers and pantomimists and not actors of plays

Epic recitations of the forbears of the Rāmayana reciters and Kathakas of the present day, who had intelligence enough to cull from popular Vedic rituals the constituents, which would make their recitations effective, led to the composition and enactment of rudimentary dramas, which were the foundations of the dramas properly so called Probably the first Rāmayana reciters were Lava and Kusā from whom the term Kusālava or actor has been derived These recitations must have been accompanied with music and appropriate gestures and postures as we find even in the present time¹

A representation of a group of such reciters is found in a bas relief at Sanchī (150 B C) The word *bhaṭata*, which is the name of the ancestor of the Puru race, the achievements of which form the subject matter of the Mahābhārata, indicates the fact that the drama is somehow connected with the recitation of the Mahābhārata The word *bhata* or reciter and herald is derived from 'bharata'¹

Pāṇini (4th century B C) mentions natasutras or rules for natas. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya refers

besides natas or dancers and singers to Granthikas or reciters and S'aubhikas and S'obhanikas who were pantomimists. The Granthikas divided themselves into two parties, one of which wore a badge of a red colour representing the party of Krishna and the other of a black colour representing that of Kamsa. These distinctive badges were put on for the purpose of enabling the audience to distinguish the parties as soon as they appeared before them. Patanjali's reference to painters, who depicted the killing of Kamsa and the binding of Vali on the canvas may have led to the painting of the scenes which were going to be represented on the boards of the theatre¹.

Now it can be easily conceived that Natas, Granthikas, S'auvikas and S'obhanikas, and Painters combined their functions and enacted regular plays before the Hindu audience of the second century B. C. These dramas like the Mystery Plays of England in pre-Shakespearean times were probably religious.

The Vedic ritual called Mahavrata, in which there is a scurrilous dispute between a Brahman and a hetaera, may have given rise to Vidushaka (literally—one given to abuse) the king's companion and jester, who generally fares the worse in his repartee with the queen's female companions. The Vidushaka generally speaks Prakrit, which shows his want of sufficient education. He is always a brahman, probably because he is the king's private secretary and counsellor.

The Ramalila celebrations and the yatis of the

1. Macdonell and Keith,

present day are probably the relics of the crude dramatic representations of ancient times

The violent and tender dances (tandava and lasya) of the followers of Śiva and Parvatī exerted some influence on the dance-constituent of the drama. Kalidasa says (M M —I 28) through Gaṇadāsa that a dramatic exhibition (including singing and dancing), when it is well represented, pleases gods like a sacrifice, that the violent (ताण्डव) and tender (लास्य) dances are its constituents, that human character and conduct and various sentiments are embodied in it, and that its various species please various kinds of men

That the Buddhists did not object to dramatic representations, is attested by the dramas of the Buddhist Asvaghosha, the earliest dramatist whose works, though in fragments, are extant. Buddhist legends assert that the knowledge of drama was one of Buddha's accomplishments and that Bimbisāra had a drama performed in honour of a pair of Nāga Kings¹. The Jainas also adopted drama as a vehicle for the propagation of their religion.

The Harivamśa or the genealogy of the family of Krishna refers to dramatic exhibitions based mainly on Krishna and Rāma legends. But it is difficult to say whether this Purāṇa is older than Asvaghosha's dramas or not.

Prof Hillebrandt seems to be right, when he says that puppet plays (to which the Mahābhārata also refers) are imitations of dramatic exhibitions and presuppose the latter's existence.

The term *Sutradhara* may or may not have been derived from a puppet play, which depends on the manipulation of these figures by means of sutias or stings. Carpenters in India are called *sutradhars* or holders of thread, which is used by them for measuring timber and one of the qualifications of the stage manager may have been his knowledge of the building of the temporary stage. It appears to have been one of the duties of the architect at sacrificial celebrations to erect a temporary building for accommodating those taking part in the sacrifice and to conduct the various arrangements for their amusements.¹

The word may have been used also in a metapnoric sense, because the stage manager gave the sutra or clue to the actual subject of the drama by means of his adroit conversation with his wife, the *Nati*. It is difficult to conceive how the name *Sthapaka* (arranger) of the *sutradhara*s or stage manager's assistant may have been derived solely as some European scholars assert, from the play of puppets.

Kavyas (see also pp 297-98) are shorter epic poems in which the style is regarded as more important than the matter, and in which description preponderates over narration. The predominant sentiments of both the epic and its polished counterpart are heroic and erotic. The theory of Sanskrit Poetics prescribes that cantos should not be less than eight, each of which should end in a different metre. The didactic or aphoristic element is common to both the classes of epics. We find all these elements

in Sanskrit dramas Lyric Poetry the examples of which have been quoted by Patanjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*, must have constituted the lyric element to the Drama.

From what has been said above, it appears that Sanskrit dramas like those of Greece and England had a religious origin. The same causes, which brought about the secularisation of the tragedies and comedies of Greece and of the Mysteries and Moralities of England, may have led to the non-religious character of later Hindu dramas. But it must be pointed out that most of the works of Indian Dramatists at least of *Asvaghōṣa*, *Bhāsa* and *Kalidāsa* have a religious character, e. g. derived in the case of *Asvaghōṣa* from legends in which Buddha plays a part and in the cases of the latter from the *Sūtras*.

Western scholars are divided as to the use of Prakrit by certain characters. It cannot be said that even the most rudimentary dramatic exhibitions of the Hindus were confined to the aristocracy. The vehicle of dramatic expression must always have been intelligible to the generality of the people. But the intense religiousness of the Hindus, their almost divine homage to the royalty and their respect for caste-hierarchy would always prevent them from making their gods, kings, Brahmins and other noble personages speak anything but Sanskrit. It may be said, however, that the *Vidushaka*, though a Brahmin, speaks Prakrit. But he is most probably an ignorant Brahmin of a low class, a *Brahmabandhu*, playing the part of a court fool, fond of

sweet-meat and sometimes extricating the king by his common sense from difficult situations and sometimes making them by his foolishness more perplexing. The reason why females use Prikrit, is that even in the present day after the lapse of two thousand years, the percentage of educated women in India is extremely low. Kāśikī, a learned lady, always uses pure Sanskrit.

That some of the dramatic terms like Nata (see p 302) have been derived from Prikrit, simply proves that popular exhibitions of the Ramali type exerted some influence on ancient Sanskrit Dramas. In Sanskrit dramas, the Prikrits which are generally used are Śāurasenī in prose, Mahārāṣṭrī in verse and Māgadhī by low characters.

Some European scholars are of opinion that the Indian Drama has been modelled after its Greek prototype, specially the new Attic Comedy which flourished about 340 to 230 B C. It is, of course, true that India came into close contact with Greece on account of Alexander's conquest of the Punjab, the occupation of a considerable part of north western India by his successors, the Greek embassies sent to the courts of Indian princes, and the commercial intercourse of the Greeks with the Indians in the ports of western India, e.g., Barygaza, or Broach. It is also true that there is evidence of some influence exerted by Greek on Indian sculpture, that the best coins of Indian kings show unmistakable signs of Greek influence, and that some terms like Jāmitra have been derived from Greek Astronomy. Colebrooke says, "The

Hind is had undoubtedly made some progress at an early period in the Astronomy cultivated by them for the regulation of time. The observations of heavenly bodies were necessary for regulating the days and seasons for the performance of their annual festivities and religious sacrifices. Greece might have infused a new life into Hindu Astronomy."

W. Brennand after stating that India had its own time of the union long before its dawn in Greece, remarks that the origin of the Astronomy of the Hindus is to be found in their religious observances and that at least the following are peculiar to the Hindus —

- 1 A fixed ecliptic with lunar mansions or asterisms,
- 2 a different method of calculating longitude,
- 3 palabha or the equal shadow of the gnomon,
- 4 the formula called valana,
- and 5 the different measure of the Hindu radius¹

It must be admitted that the conservatism of the intensely religious Hindus, which led them to regard the Yavanas, Yonas, Ionians or Greeks as impure and other foreigners as mlechchas or untouchables and which led them to ignore completely even the conquests of the greatest Greek General, would naturally prevent them, if it could be helped, from introducing Greek elements into their religious dramas. It has been said that the word Yavanika or the curtain of the Hindu Theatre is an evidence of the Greek influence

¹ Hindu Astronomy— pp 320 ff

on Indian Drama, but as Doctors Keith and Levi suggest, the term refers to the material of which the curtain was made and which may have been brought into India in Greek ships or by Greek merchants. Similarly the aromatic yavanī or yamānī रवानी or यमानी and garlic and onion both of which are named यवनेष्ट (a thing liked by the Yavanas) might have been imported into India in Greek vessels. The Greek alphabet was termed Yavanī यवनानी (see also p 37). Nor is there any conclusive proof that the Greeks used the curtain in their dramatic exhibitions. Mr H Rawlinson says 'The 'Greek curtain' is certainly not borrowed from the Greek stage for there the curtain was not used'. Similarly the introduction of Yavanas or Greek women among the body guard of a king as, in Bhāsa's and Kālidāsa's dramas Vikramorvaśī and Śakuntalā, is no conclusive proof of the imitation by the Hindus of Greek dramas, because in this respect the latter do not offer any parallel, and it simply indicates the readiness of Greek traders to sell Greek girls to Indian Kings. In the Periplus of the Erythraean sea or Voyage and Trade in the Indian Ocean written by a merchant (probably an Egyptian Greek) in about 60 A D, occurs the following — Inland from Barygaza (Broach) to the east is a city called Ozene (Ujjayinī), formerly a royal capital. There are imported into the market town wine (Italian preferred), copper, tin and lead, coral and topaz, thin clothing

And for the king

are brought into these places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weave and the choicest ointments.¹ Moreover the most important essentials of the Greek Drama are its unities of time place and action, and chorus. Like Shakespeare,² the Indian dramatist ignores chorus and the unities of time and place. Indian dramas are neither confined to twenty four hours nor to a single place. It has been stated that the mark of recognition, for example, the ring in *Sākuntalā*, the stone of reunion (*Sangamānva*) in the *Vikramorvasī*, the ring of the chief queen used by the *Vidushakā* for the release of *Milāśī* in *Milāśīgnimitra*, the necklace in the *Ratnāvalī*, *Harshavardhana* etc, have their counterparts in Greek dramas. But the use of mementos like the ring is at least as ancient as the *Ramayana*, in which *Sītā* recognises *Hanuman*, as *Rama*'s messenger, by means of his ring. It will be also wrong to assert that the Hindu drama is indebted to the Greek, because in both the love of a person of a high status for a girl is prevented from being consummated for the time being on account of the supposed lower status of the latter, for such themes are common to all the nations of the civilised world or may have been inherited by both the Greeks and Indians from their common Aryan progenitors.

The theory that the *Sāka* Satraps like *Rudra*

1 *Periplus* translated by W. Schoff p. 42

2 The Chorus in Shakespeare's *Henry V* is different in important essentials from that in Greek dramas

damana (c 128 A D) of Ujjayini had something to do with Sanskrit Drama as he had to do with Classical Sanskrit an inference drawn from his Girnar inscription, and also from the use of Sauraseni Prakrit in the drama—a dialect spoken in the region round Mathur , where also there were Saka Satraps, has been shattered by the discovery of the dramas of Asvaghosha, who is regarded by Tibetan tradition as a contemporary of Kanishka, the beginning of whose rule was marked, according to the Cambridge Historian, with the initiation of the S'aka era which commenced in 78 A D These dramas show that they had attained a high degree of development, and that therefore the earliest dramas must have been composed at least a century earlier about the middle of the first century B C That Rudradamana employed Sanskrit in his inscription does not prove that his laudable zeal for the improvement of Sanskrit literature led him to select and refine this vehicle, but it simply establishes the fact that Sanskrit was being cultivated and refined by the Brahmins and authors of the day and was being patronised by the aristocracy and royalty The reasons why no earlier inscriptions in Classical Sanskrit are extant are that they may have been destroyed by Mahammadan invaders¹ and also that only well to do and influential persons can commemorate their achievements by means of inscriptions on metal or stone

That S'auraseni Prakrit was used in the drama simply proves that it was the most refined Prakrit of the time, which could be used in plays, the subjects

1 See p 323, E H I

of which were mostly religious. Besides Śāurasenī Asvaghosha and Bhasa used two kinds of Māgadhī, while Kālidāsa selected Māhārāṣṭrī for his verses and Māgadhī for the speech of his vulgar characters. In later dramas we find only Śāurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī. An examination of the Prakrits of Asvaghosha, Bhasa and Kālidāsa proves the priority of Asvaghosha to Bhasa and that of the latter to Kālidāsa. The Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit can be placed with reasonable assurance after the Māhārāṣṭrī Lyric, which may have flourished in the third and fourth centuries A.D.¹ This is also the opinion of Dr. L. Sarup who writes²—"The Prakrit of these (Bhasa's Plays) has preserved archaic forms, and from the philological point of view, occupies an intermediate position between the Prakrits of Asvaghosha and Kālidāsa, being nearer to the former as compared with the latter. It is quite safe to assign these plays to the second century A.D."

In *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam* the sutradhara or manager, suta or charioteer, the king, the sages and hermits, the general, the heralds the kanchukī, and the priest speak Sanskrit. Others speak Śāurasenī, two female attendants Parābhritikā and Madhukarikā utter two Māhārāṣṭrī s'lokas, and the fisherman and two constables speak Māgadhī.

In Mr. Heinrich Luders' Edition of Buddhistic Dramas (1911) are to be found the fragments of dramas, which western scholarship has ascertained as the remains of three Buddhistic plays, one of which has

1 S.D.—p. 146

2 Hindusthan Review—Jan., 1927

been proved from the three pages of manuscripts found in Central Asia later, to have been composed by As'vaghosha and named S'radvatiputra prakarana. The characters are Buddha, S'riputra or S'radvatiputra, his Vidushaka and Maudgalyana. S'riputra, though dissuaded by his Vidushaka from following Buddha, is persuaded by Maudgalyana to do so. They go to Buddha, who convinces him.

The two other plays, whose remains have been found along with those of S'radvatiputra prakarana, are most likely the works of the same author. One appears to be a hetaera play like Bhisa's Charudatta and Sudraka's Mricchhakatika, which may have been modelled after As'vaghosha's play, which again must have differed from Bhisa's and Sudraka's works in its pointedly inculcating religious and moral lessons. The name of the Nyaka or Gallant is probably Somadatta, that of the Hetaera Magadhavati, and that of the Vidushaka, Komudagandha.

The third drama is an allegorical play like the later Prasadnachandrodaya of Krishna Misra. Here are these characters, Buddhi or Wisdom, Kirti or Fame and Dhriti or Patience—

यस्य हि बुद्धिरवतिष्ठते तस्य धृतिः स्थानं लभते । यस्य च धृतिराभियते तस्य बुद्धिर्लक्ष्मीर्यते । Complete sentences can rarely be found in these fragments.

These dramas of As'vaghosa observe the rules of Sanskrit Poetics, treatises on which must have existed even before the publication of Bharata's

Nāṭyaśāstra, which, it appears from the evidence of Prakṛit was composed most likely after Aśvaśhoṣa. Dr Keith¹ says that the Prakṛits recognised by the Nāṭyaśāstra are clearly later than those of Aśvaśhoṣa and are more akin to those found in Bhāsa, and that the fact of its ignoring the Mahābhārata of Kālidāsa proves its priority to the latter's works. The higher characters in Aśvaśhoṣa's dramas speak Sanskrit, in which there are a few Prakṛit words. Besides the epic Śloka metre, of which the proportion may have been considerable, there are at least eleven kinds of verses. The dialogues are generally in prose, and verses are used, as in later dramas in lyric and didactic portions.

We have already stated that the dramas of Aśvaśhoṣa observe the rules of Sanskrit Poetics. In this connexion we must bear in mind that great dramatists, even if they may have studied dramatic theories, never follow them slavishly. Only a fastidious critic can by means of his inventive imagination illustrate the rules of Sanskrit or English Poetics and Rhetoric in all their details in the plays of Kālidāsa or Shakespeare. We could neither have a Sakuntalā nor a Tempest, if either would be the faithful illustration of dramatic theories. Heine has well said—'Only a narrow shopkeeper mind will attempt to weigh genius in its miserable cheese scales.' Sanskrit dramatic theorists and rhetoricians are subtler in this respect than their western compeers. They divide the whole dramatic action, for example, into five sandhis (critical moments or junctures)—mukha, pratimukha,

garbha, vimarsha, and upasamhṛiti Dushmanta's pursuit of the deer would be the mukha sandhi. The temporary cessation of the chase would be the prati mukha sandhi and so forth. Again authors of Sanskrit Poetics for instance, Sāhityadarpaṇa¹ lay down that every drama has an end to attain. In Sakuntalā the end would be the birth of a worthy son of Dushmanta. There are five causes or means of the accomplishment of the end or principal object अथप्रकृति or प्रयोजनसिद्धि the first of which is the germ or vija, the others being vindu (secondary germ) pataka (a collateral action or an embellishment), prakara (an episode) and karyya (the deed or object). The vija in Sakuntalā would be—the blessing (viz that he will have a worthy son) of Dushmanta by Vāikhāṇasa when the former in the first Act desists from shooting the deer in compliance with the hermit's request. So the germ' here is closely connected with 'mukha sandhi'. The division by Sanskrit Theorists of dramas into numerous rupakas and uparupakas, of sentiments (रसा), and of emotions (भावा), into permanent (स्थायीभावा) and accessory (व्यभिचारिभावा), and the classification of their numerous excitants or causes (उद्दीपनभावा) and ensuants or effects (अनुभावा) are equally hair splitting. Bhāvas or emotions in the mind of the author when expressed in compositions become rasas or sentiments which excite similar emotions or bhāvas in the mind of the reader. 'Rasas are considered usually as effects, not causes and they

I Sāhityadarpaṇa Chap VI p 317 translated by Messrs Ballantyne and Mitra

are said to come from the Bhāvas, conditions of the mind or body, which are followed" by corresponding impressions on those who feel or behold them'. The due appreciation of rasas depends upon the sensitive ness of the critic, but a spectator, who deserves the name, is defined by Bharata to be 'one who is happy when the cause of the drama is cheerful melancholy when it is sorrowful who rages when it is furious, and trembles when it is fearful'.

From the fragments of Asvaghosha's plays it will be evident that by the middle of the first century A.D., Sanskrit Drama had attained a highly developed form similar though inferior to what we find in Kalidasa.

In the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* Kālidasa distinctly says that Bhāsa is an old dramatist whose reputation has been established by his works like that of Saumilla and Kaviputra.

Bhāsa's drama, *Madhyamavyayoga* which deals with the demoness Hidimba's love for Bhīma the younger brother of Yudhiṣṭhira, begins in the same way as the *Vikramorviśa* of Kālidasa. The Sūtradhāra or manager in both pronounces नान्दी or benediction on the audience, and begins to address them, but is suddenly interrupted in Bhāsa's work by the painful cry of a Brahman, whose family is being pursued by the demon Ghatotkacha, Bhīma's son by Hidimba, and in Kālidasa's play by the cry of

1 Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus—Vol. I p. XLVIII

2 Ibid p. LVII

nymphs bewailing the capture of their friend Urvashi by the demon Kesi

The Pancharatra deals with the foray of the Kurus under Duryyodhana on the cows of Virata, king of Matsya, and the fight between the Kurus and the Pandavas, (who are living in disguise in Virata's court) and with the marriage of Abhimanyu with Uttara, the daughter of the Matsya king

The Dutakha is concerned with Krishna's request on behalf of Yudhishthira to Duryyodhana for one half of his kingdom, Duryyodhana's refusal and his attempt to bind Krishna, and his failure. Duryyodhana's retort to the ambassador, Krishna or Vasudeva, is worth quoting —

अवध्या प्रमदा हत्वा ह्य गोवृषमेव च ।

महानपि सुनिर्लज्जो वक्तुमिच्छसि साधुभिः ॥

[Having killed a woman (the demoness Putana) who should not have been killed, a bull (a demon who assumed this form) and wrestlers (Chakr and Mushaka sent by Kamsa), you who are shameless, want to speak with honest men like us—this is strange !]

The Dutaghatotkacha deals with the embassy of Ghatotkacha to Duryyodhana, and the warning of the former to the latter for his unrighteous killing of Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son

Bhisma's Karnabhara deals with Indra's beguiling the haughty but noble Karna, the formidable partisan of Duryyodhana of his famous armour and of some weapons in the hour of his need, and with his death on the field of battle

The Uubhanga is a drama describing the club fight, गदायुद्ध, of Bhima and the heroic Duryodhana, in which the latter is fatally wounded. We cannot agree with Dr Keith when he says that Urubhanga and Karnabhara are not tragedies in spite of the death under mortal circumstances of their heroes. He says it is a mere reading of the modern sentiment into ancient literature to treat Duryodhana in the Urubhanga as the hero of the drama. He justly pays the full penalty for insolence and contempt of Vishnu.¹

According to the Doctor, it appears, that Bhima should be regarded as the hero and not Duryodhana. He forgets the well known maxim of Cowper that authors forget critics and not critics authors. Simply because a Hindu dramatic critic lays down a rule the Doctor assumes that every Hindu dramatist is bound to observe it. But what has he to say to Karnabhara? The noble Karna gives up his defensive and offensive weapons to Indra who has disguised himself as a Brahman, knowing that they will be sorely needed by him in the fight which is imminent. Even Salya can not dissuade him. Karna says—

शिक्षा क्षयं गच्छति कालपर्ययात् ।

सुबद्धमूला निपतन्ति पादपा ॥

जलं जलस्थानगतं च शुष्यति ।

हुतं च दत्तं च तथेव तिष्ठति ॥¹

¹ S D—p 278

² All the extracts are taken from the edition of Mr Ganapati Sastri

[With the passage of time things learnt are forgotten deep rooted trees fall to the ground, and water (either of rain or flood) is absorbed by the earth but things offered in sacrifice or given in charity last forever]

Karna goes to the battle field, fights bravely and is slain by Arjuna. Is not this an instance—to quote the Doctor's own words of the good man striving in vain against an inexorable doom?

The *Balacharita* deals with the incidents of the life of Krishna—his birth, the fruitless efforts of Kamsa to kill him, his youth spent at the house of the milkman Nanda (his adoptive father), his fight with demons and ultimately with the tyrant Kamsa whom he slays and the restoration to his kingdom in accordance with his father Vasudeva's request, of Ugrasena, whom his son Kamsa has imprisoned.

Bhīṣma's *Pratimuktaka* describes the death of Daśaratha, Rama's banishment, the capture of Sita by Ravana, Rama's alliance with Sugriva, the monkey king, his killing Ravana with the aid of the monkey horde of Sugriva and of the army sent by his brother Bharata, and his return home with Sita, in the Pushpala and chariot.

The *Abhishekantaka* goes almost over the same story—Rama's slaying of Vali (Sugriva's elder brother), Hanuman's communication of Rama's message to Sita, Sita's devotion to her husband and rejection of Ravana's advances, Rama's slaying of Ravana and his coronation.

The *Avimuraka*, the plot of which is derived from Kathi literature, deals with the love of Kurangi the daughter of the king Kuntibhoja, for a youth of an apparently lower status, whose divine origin is proved after many obstacles Kurangi is able to gain finally the youth of her heart

The *Pratijn yaugandharayana* and *Svapna V savadatta* deal with king Udayana, the legend of whose love for *V savadatta* was, as Kalidasa says in his *Meghaduta*, known far and wide in the kingdom of Ujjaini, and was probably derived from the *Brihat Katha* of Gundhya (1st or 2nd century A D) on which the *Kath Sarit Sagar* of Somadeva (1070 A D) was based¹ There is considerable resemblance between the story of *Bhisa* and that given in *Kath Sarit Sagar* In the first play the minister *Yaugandharayana* enables his master Udayana, king of *Vatsa* with its capital *Kaus' moi* (near Allahabad), to marry *V savadatta* the daughter of the king of *Ujjaini* In the second drama he artfully contrives with the aid *V savadatta* to make Udayana take another wife in the person of *Padmavati*, the daughter of the king of *Magadha* The name *Svapna-V savadatta* is derived from the fact that the sleeping Udayana thinks that he saw his queen *V savadatta* in his sleep *V savadatta* really sat beside him while he was sleeping, though it was given out by *Yaugandharayana* that she had died in a conflagration, in order to induce Udayana to marry *Padmavati*, the daughter of the powerful king of *Magadha* When

the Vidushaka declares that it was a mere dream, Udayana, who is a devoted husband says to him—

यदि तादृशदयं स्वप्नोन्नयमप्रतिबोधनम् ।

अथाय विभ्रमो वा सदादविभ्रमोऽहस्तु मे चिरम् ॥

(If this be a dream, then nonawaking is blessed, if this be a delusion may I be subject to it for ever!) Udayana was a historical personage and flourished about 527 B C

The Charudatta deals with the love of an accomplished merchant of the name of Charudatta, whose generosity has been the cause of his ruin, for Vasantasena a hetaera, who ransoms his servant and deposits with him her ornaments with a view to his utilising them. But these ornaments are stolen, and the thief is found out, and Vasantasena regains her property. This play has been found in a fragmentary condition.

From the above it will be evident that the plots of Bhasa are derived from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Katha literature, and Krishna and hetaera legends. The Krishna legends are referred to by Patanjali and agree with Harivamsa, Vishnupurana and Srimadbhagavata in being devoid of the erotic element of Krishna's love for Radha and other milk maids, which probably is of a later origin.

The two Udayana dramas of Bhasa suggested to Emperor Harshavardhana (606—647 A D) his more elaborate work Ratnavali, and Bhasa's Charudatta was imitated in Mrichchhakatika by Sudraka, the

first four acts of which are almost a reproduction of the Chudatta

Bhasa's dramas are interspersed with aphorisms of which Kālidāsa is also fond. In the *Avimaraka*, the following occurs. It shows that the position of the minister of the king is not enviable—

प्रसिद्धौ कार्याणां प्रवदति जनः पाथिवबलम् ।

विपत्तौ विस्पष्टः सचिवमतिदोषं जनयति ॥

अमातया इत्युक्त्वा श्रुतिसुखमुदारं नृपतिभिः ।

सुसूक्ष्मं दण्डयन्ते मतिबलविदम्भा कुपुरुषाः ॥

(If the measures of the minister become successful, people ascribe it to the prowess of the king. If they fail, the minister is definitely blamed. Though kings address their ministers by the very sweet-sounding title of *Amātya* or counsellors, they punish severely these unfortunate men who pride themselves on their power of intellect.)

The first Brahman, engaged in performing the sacrifice of *Duryodhana* in the *Pancharatnam*, says—

शुष्केणैकेन वृक्षेण वनं पुष्पितपादपम् ।

कुलं चारितहीनेन पुरुषेणेव दहयते ॥

(A characterless member destroys a whole family, as one dry tree does a whole forest of flower-bearing trees.)

The following from *Pratijñā-yaugandharayana* expresses the feelings of the mother for her daughter, whom she has to give in marriage. Visavadatt's father says to her mother before her marriage—

अदत्ते तयागता लज्जा दत्तेति वयथित मन ।

धम्मस्नेहान्तरे नयस्ता इ खिना खलु मातर ॥

(If a daughter is not given in marriage, disgrace befalls a mother, if given, she suffers the pain of separation So there is nothing but sorrow for a mother, as she is placed between duty and affection)

The superiority of Bhasa's dramas to As'vaghosha's fragments in the construction of the plot, in characterisation in diction and in the handling of the metre is manifest to every reader, and establishes the fact of Bhasa's flourishing much later than As'vaghosha In Bhasa's dramas the characters are differentiated with great skill In the variety and melody of his versification he almost approximates Kalidasa, as will appear from the following passage of his Abhishekanaṭaka where Lakshmana describes Varuna, the God of the Ocean—

सजलजलधरेन्द्रनालनीरो

विलुलितफेनतरङ्गचारुहार ।

समधिगतनदीसहस्रबाहु-

हंरिरिव भाति सरित्पति शयान ॥

Bhasa and Kalidasa may be regarded as the exponents of the Vaidarbhi or Southern style In As'vaghosha the epic style is predominant In Kalidasa the the Vaidarbhi style attains its highest perfection It is distinguished from the Gaudi or Western style thus in the Sahitya darpana—

माधुर्यवयस्कैवर्णे रचना ललितात्मिका ।

अवृत्तिरल्पवृत्तिर्वा वैदर्भीरीतिरिष्यते ॥

भोज प्रकाशकैवर्गैर्वन्ध आहम्बर पुन ।

समासबहुला गौडी ॥

(An elegant composition, with letters having sweet sounds and being devoid of compounds (samāsas) or having a few compounds, is called the Vailaibhi style. On the other hand a composition with force-expressing sounds and full of bombast and compounds is named Gaudī)

Kālidāsa is simple as is Bhaṣa, but the former has an elegance and refinement which is not found in the latter. See how Bhaṣa in his Abhisheka nāṭaka prevents Tira in a clumsy manner from lamenting the treacherous murder of her husband by Rāma, and contrast it with Rati's lamentation for her lord in Kumārasambhava. Both Asvaghosha and Bhaṣa must have influenced Kālidāsa's style but as Dr Keith says, "The chief cause of its perfection must have been natural taste and constant reworking of what he had written, a fact which may easily explain the discrepancies between the recensions of his work."¹

Kalidasa's Dramas

The dramas of Kalidasa may have been composed in the following order—*Malavikāgnimitram*, *Vikramorvasī* and *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*

When the stage manager proposes to enact *Malavikāgnimitram* on the occasion of the spring festival his assistant (पारिषादिक) says—

मा तावत् । प्रथितयशसा भासमौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीना प्रबन्धान् अतिश्रम्य
वर्तमानकवे कालिदासस्य क्रियाया कथं परिषदो बहुमानः ।

सूत्रधार । अयि विवेकशून्यमभिहितम् । पश्य—

पुराणमितेयं न साधु सर्व्वं, न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवदाम् ।

सन्त परीक्ष्यानन्तरद्भजन्ते, मूढ परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः ॥

(That cannot be done Why should the work of Kalidasa, who is a new dramatist, be preferred to the works of Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviṣṭra of established reputation ?

Sutrādhara or Stage manager—you words are devoid of wisdom, for—

A work is not necessarily good, simply because it is old, nor is it bad simply because it is new Wise men prefer a work after thorough examination Only fools depend on the opinions of others)

The stage manager in introducing Vikramorvasī says to his assistant—

पश्चिन्नेषा पूर्वेषा कवीना इष्टरसप्रबन्धा, अहमस्या कालिदासप्रथितवस्तुन
नवेन द्योतकेनोपस्थास्ये, तदुच्यता पाक्षवग स्वेष्टुस्थानेष्वनहितै भवितव्य
भवन्निरिति ।

नट — यथाज्ञापयति देव ।

सूक्तधार — यावदस्यामायविदग्धमिश्रान् शिरसा प्रणिपत्य निज्ञापयामि —
प्रणयिषु दाक्षिण्यवक्षादथवा सद् वस्तुबहुमानात् ।

शृणुत जना ! अवधानात् क्रियामिमा कालिदासस्य ॥

(The stage manager to his assistant— This assembly has witnessed the plays of former dramatists I shall now enact the new drama of Kalidasa before it Ask the actors to be careful in remaining in their proper places

The assistant—Your command has my attention

The stage-manager to the audience— I bow down to you, who are versed in various arts I hope you, being actuated by your love for us or for the excellence of this play, will attentively witness this dramatic representation)

In the Śākuntal the stage manager says to the actress—

आर्येय ! रसभावविशेषदीक्षागुरोर्जिक्मादित्यस्य नरपतेरभिरूपभूयिष्ठा
परिषदियम् । अद्य खलु कालिदासप्रथितवस्तुना अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलनाम
ज्ञेयेन नवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभि । तद् प्रतिपादमाधीयता यत्न ।

(Respected Lady—This is the Learned Assembly of the King Vikramaditya, who is himself well versed in poetic sentiments Today we are to enact the new

historical drama of Kalidasa called Abhijnana-Sakuntalam Therefore let every actor play his part carefully)

From the above it will be evident that the Malavikāgnimitram is introduced with the greatest diffidence, and a proverb has to be quoted in support of the stage-manager's preference for the drama of an unknown author This want of confidence, though much less, is still apparent in the introduction of the Vikramorvasī to the audience, who have witnessed the representations of the works of other dramatists (पूर्वेषां कवीनां हृदयप्रबन्धा), because they are asked to witness patiently and attentively its performance either out of their love for the theatrical company or for the excellence of the new drama But this diffidence disappears completely on the occasion of the representation of Abhijnana sakuntalam for by this time Kalidasa's reputation as a dramatist has been thoroughly established, and no apology is, therefore, deemed necessary for the enactment of his new play

It has been stated by some that as in Malavikāgnimitram Kalidasa follows the dramatic theory loyally, this must be his late production But we should remember that only a novice will faithfully and fearfully abide by the cramping rules of dramatic criticism

**Ma'lavika gñimitram, Vikramorvas'ī and
Abhijñāna-S'akuntalam**

The plot of *Mālavikāgnimitram* has already been given (see p 30 ff) in connexion with the repulse of the Greeks under Menander by the forces of Pushyamitra (see p 33) There is however, a discrepancy between the story as given by contemporary writers and Kalidasa. The former mention Agnimitra and not his son Vasumitra as the general of the Hindu forces. Mr H G Rawlinson says in this connexion ' Menander besieged Mathura, Madhyamika near Chitor and Saketa in Oudh. 'The Yavana was besieging Saketa, the Yavana was besieging Madhyamika' are examples given by the contemporary grammarian Patanjali of the imperfect tense, which indicates an event which has recently taken place, and is still fresh in men's memories. About this time the aged Pushyamitra, who had usurped the throne of the last of the Mauryas in 184 B C , was contemplating offering the ancient Brahmanical sacrifice of As'vamedha to celebrate his ascendancy over his neighbours' On the banks of the Sindhu river (between Rajputana and Bundelkhand), the Crown Prince Agnimitra, who was in charge of

the sacrificial horse, was attacked by a party of Yavana horsemen ¹ &c

The plot of Vikramorvas'ī— The story of Pururavas and Urvas'ī is found in the Vedas Satapatha Brahmana, and Vishnu, Padma and Matsya Puranas, and Kālidasa's story resembles that given in the Matsya Purāna most Pururavas of the Lunar Race is the king of Pratisthana² near Prayaga One day while returning from the worship of the Sun on the Himalayas, he hears the screams of nymphs, Sahajanya, Rambhā and Menakī, from whom Urvas'ī and her companion Chitralkhā, on their way home from the court of Kuvera on mount Kailasa, have been torn away by the demon Kes'ī The King goes to their rescue and brings back Chitralkhā and the unconscious Urvas'ī in his chariot When the latter is regaining consciousness, the King says to Chitralkhā—

आविर्भूते शशिनि तमसा मुच्यमानेव राक्षि—

नशस्याचिहुं तमुज इव क्षिप्तं भूयिष्ठवृत्ता ।

मोहेनान्तर्वास्तुरिय लक्ष्यते मुक्तकल्पा ।

गङ्गा रोध पतनकलुषा गच्छतीव प्रसादम् ॥ V V—I 33

(Have Patience , she recovers, though but faintly

So gently steals the moon upon the night

Retiring tardily , so peeps the flame

Of evening fires through smoky wreaths , and

thus,

The Ganges slowly clears her troubled wave,

¹ Intercourse between India and the Western World pp 80-81

² Identified with Jhusi by Hamilton and H H Wilson (Theatre of the Hindus, vol I p 207)

Engulfs the ruin that the tumbling bank,
 Had hurled across her agitated course,
 And flows a clear and stately stream again)—W

(ববত্ব প্রাণ এবে মোহ-মুক্ত হয়ে

তমোমুক্ত রাজি যথা শশাক উদয়ে ,

কিষ্ক নৈশ অগ্নিশিখা

হব যথা প্রাণ ধুমহীন

গঙ্গা পুন স্বচ্ছ যথা

তটভঙ্গে হইয়া মলিন ॥)—J T

Urvas'ī is restored by the King to her companions and then to Chitraratha, the Gandharva King, but not before he and Urvas'ī have become hopelessly enamoured of each other Urvas'ī being summoned before the court of Indra, the lovers are obliged to part but Urvas'ī pretends to be stopped by her long pearl necklace being caught in a shrub and asks Chitrlekha to set her free, and in the meanwhile turns her eyes towards her Beloved They look at each other eagerly, while their cars fly to their different destinations

The scene then changes to Pratisthana, the royal capital A female servant of the Queen, named Nipuna, artfully extracts from the court jester, Mānavaka, the King's secret love for Urvas'ī as a considerable change has been effected in both the King's countenance and behaviour by his fascination, of the cause of which the Queen has so long been unaware The King now retires with his companion to the beautiful pleasure garden overlooking the confluence of the

Ganges and Yamunā but the charms of nature are now unavailing to soothe his love stricken heart. Urvas'ī feels equally with the King the promptings of love and the agony of separation. She comes down from heaven with her confidante Chitralekhā, for a time remains invisible, listens to the King's confessions and drops a love letter written on a bhurja or birch bark, which the king eagerly seizes and reads and hands over to Manavaka for safe custody.

When the King expresses his intense longing for the Nymph, and Chitralekhā comes to him the King says that so long Gangā and Yamunā have been seen charmingly conjoined, but now Chitralekhā alone does not look so beautiful. She replies that first is seen मेघराशि (the cloud cluster) and then बिदुयल्लता (the lightning flash). Presently Urvas'ī becomes visible, and is made by the king to sit beside him. When they are conversing, a messenger comes from the god of heaven to ask Urvas'ī to come directly to heaven, for she has to play the part of Lakshmi in Sarasvatī's drama Lakshmi svayamvara, which is to be enacted under the direction of the divine artist Bharata before the assembly of gods. The love stricken Urvas'ī commits a grievous blunder. When asked by Menakī, who is playing the part of Varunī, as to whom among the assembled gods, Urvas'ī, as Lakshmi, is attached she substitutes Pururavas for Purushottama and is cursed by Bharata, but Indra, who intervenes for Pururavas' valuable services to him against demons, allows her to dwell with him on earth, till their child be seen by its father.

The King on the departure of Urvas'ī becomes disconsolate, and wants back from Manavaka her letter, which the Vidushaka has unluckily allowed to be carried away by the wind. The King is much distressed at the loss. He says—

ভগবন্ বসন্ত সস্নে মলয়ানিল ।
 বাসার্থং হর সম্মৃত্যু সুরমিত পৌষ্য রজো বীরুধা,
 কি কার্যং ভবত্যো হৃদেয়ং দয়িতাস্নেহস্বহসেন মে ।
 জ্ঞাত্যেতদ্বা ভবান্ বিনোদনশরৈরবিধৈর্চারিত
 কামার্ভ জনমঞ্জসাভিমধিতু নালাম্বিতাশ্বাসনম্ ॥

V V —II 153

Breeze of the south, the friend of Love and Spring,
 Though from the flower you steal the fragrant down
 To scatter perfume, yet why plunder me
 Of those dear characters, her own fair hand,
 In proof of her affection traced ? Thou knowest,
 The lonely lover, that in absence pines,
 Lives on such fond memorials—W

ভগবন বসন্তস্নেহে মলয়ানিল ।
 সৌগন্ধেব তবে তুমি, লতিকাব সুবভিত
 সঞ্চিত কুসুম-বেণু কব আহবণ ।
 কি কাব হইবে তব, প্রিয়াব স্বহস্তে লেখা,
 স্নেহেব এ লিপিখানি কবিতা হবণ ?
 এইরূপ শত শত, বিনোদন উপায়ে বে
 কামার্ভ পুষ কবে জীবন-বাবণ
 পুনর্মিলন আশে—পাবো কি তাহাবে তুমি
 একগ নির্দয়ভাবে কবিতা গীডন ?)—J T

The letter falls into the hands of the Chief Queen Aus'inari, daughter of the king of Kas'1, and her suspicion now becomes a certainty. She comes out of her place of concealment with her attendant, and presents the letter to the perplexed King, and taunts him for his fickleness and leaves him abruptly in spite of his protests and entreaties and Manavaka's clumsy jests about eatables. The King then realises that a woman cannot be easily deceived specially in matters of love—

প্রিয়বচনকৃতোপি যোষিতা, দ্ব্যিতজনানুভবো রসাহিত্যে ।

প্রতিপত্তি হৃদয় ন ত দ্বদা মণিরিব কৃত্তিমরাগযোজিত ॥

—V V—II—173

(I might have spared myself the pains ,
A woman is clear sighted, and mere words
Touch not her heart. Passion must give them credit
The lapidary, master of his craft,
With cold indifference eyes the spurious gem) —W

(প্রেমবস শূন্য হয়ে প্রিয় বচনেও যদি

প্রিয়জন অনুভব করে,

কিছুতেই জেনে, সখা, প্রবেশ কবেনা চাহ।

কমণীব হৃদি অভ্যস্তবে ,

মণিবেত্তা কাছে যথা মণির কৃত্তিম বাগ

দেখিবামাত্রই ধবা পড়ে ।

—J T

The Queen, who on second thought wants to be reconciled to the King and resign herself to the will of gods, invites the King on a moon lit night to the roof of the palace overlooking the beautiful confluence, to help her to celebrate the festival of the Moon's union

with Rohini The King whose love infatuation has not blinded his appreciation of the beauty of nature say—

उदयगृहशशाङ्कमरीचिभिस्समसि दूरमিত प्रतिसारिते ।

अलकसयमनादिव लोचने हरति मे हरिवाहनदिङ्मुखम् ॥

—V V—III—26

(পশাঙ্ক উদয়াচলে গৃহ অবস্থিত

তাহার কিরণজালে তম অপস্থিত ।

পূৰ্ণ দিক মুখ হ'তে অশকেব গুচ্ছ বেন নিল সবাইয়া

আহা কি সুন্দর শোভা । নয়ন যুগল মোব গইল হবিষা ॥)—J T

(Tis even so illumined by the rays

Of his yet unseen orb, the evening glooms

On e ther hand retire and in the midst

The horizon glows, like a fair face that smiles

Between the jetty curls on either brow

In clusters pendulous I could gaze for ever!)—W

Urvasī and her companion Chitrālekha watch the scene from a distance. The majesty of the Queen her earnest performance of the religious rite her solemn permission to the King to marry his Beloved, and her dignified departure from the place, though requested by the King to stay on, for the sake of piety and duty, move all, specially Urvasī and Chitrālekha. Urvasī now makes herself visible, becomes united with the King, and persuades him after his entrusting the work of administration to his ministers, to spend the honeymoon with her amidst the beautiful scenery of the Himalayas

The lovers wander near Kailas'a, when Urvasī in a fit of jealousy for the King's looking intently at a

Vidyadhara girl named Udayavati, enters the sacred
 harbour of Kumara, the god of war, and is changed for
 Bharata's curse into a creeper. The King being
 distracted with grief on account of his losing his
 Beloved regards the dark cloud as a demon, who has
 been kidnapping Urvashī in the form of lightning.
 After thinking for a while he says--

বজলধর সন্নিহিত্য ন হস্রনিশাচর ,
 সুরধনুর্বিদ দুরাক্ষট ন নাম শরাসনম্ ।
 অযম্য পটুধোরাসারো ন বাণপম্পরা,
 কনকনিকষস্নিগ্ধা বিদুস্ প্রিয়া ন মমোহনী ॥

V V —IV—21

(নব জলধর এসে—নহে দৃষ্ট বর্ষাবৃত
 বাক্স ভীষণ ,
 এ বে দেখি দুরাক্ষট ইজধনু—এতো কত
 নহে শবাসন
 প্রবল এ বৃষ্টিপাত—এতো নহে বাক্সসেব
 বাণ পবম্পরা ,
 কনক নিকষ স্নিগ্ধ বিদুস্ এ—এতো নহে
 প্রেমলী অঙ্গবা ॥ — J T)

(It is no demon—but a friendly cloud ,
 No hostile quiver—but the bow of Indra ,
 The cooling rain drops fall, not barbed shafts ,
 And I mistake the lightning for my Love)—W

He then asks the Peacock about the whereabouts
 of his Love. It does not reply, but dances with its
 expanded beautiful tail. Puruṇavas thinks, in joy, be-

cause Urvas'ī's thick hair adorned with flowers, which was its rival, is no more. He then enquires of the sweet-toned Cuckoo, the messenger of Cupid, about Urvas'ī. The bird seems to hint that the King must have done something to provoke her, which he denies. When the bird without replying feeds on berries, the King remarks that the saying 'Men are cold towards others' intense grief' is very true—महदपि परदूखं शीतलं समयागच्छ— and adds that even now he is not angry with the bird, as its sweet voice resembles that of his Dairling. Then he hears sounds resembling those of Urvas'ī's anklets but later on he realises that they are the cooings of swans looking at the clouded sky and proceeding towards the Manasa Lake. He tells them that they must have seen his Beloved, from whom they have stolen her languishing gait, and adds that they fly away fearing him to be the punisher of thieves. Then he asks a Chakrabaka sitting with his mate about Urvas'ī, but on the bird simply uttering—

'अयं कः कः—who is he', the King says that he is the great Pururavas descended from the Sun and Moon. The bird not replying, the King says that when its Beloved hides itself behind a lotus leaf, it becomes very anxious and utters a plaintive cry, but unfortunately as he is, it is indifferent to him who is similarly circumstanced. He then addresses the Black bee and says—

मधुकर ! म देगक्षया क्षस तस्या प्रवृत्ति ।

वरतनुत्यवासौ नैव दृष्टा त्वया मे ॥

यदि सुरभिमवापस्यस्तन्मुखोच्छासगन्ध ,

तव रतिरभविष्यत् पुण्डरीके किममस्मिन् ॥ —V V —IV 61

(Say, plunderer of the honeyed dew, hast thou
Beheld the nymph whose large and languid eye
Voluptuous rolls, as if it swam with wine ?
And yet, methinks, 'tis idle to inquire
For had he tasted her delicious breath,
He now would scorn the lotus I will hence)—W

(মধুকব! মদিবান্ধি প্রিয়৷ মোব কোথা বল শুনি,
বরতনু প্রেরসীবে, কোথাও কি দেখ নাই তুমি ?^১
সে মুখ-সুবভি স্বাস তুমি যদি কবিতো আশ্রয়,
তা'হলে কি এই পদে মজিত গো তোমাব পবাণ ?) J T

Then he asks an elephant, who is being presented with the twig of a s'allakī tree by his mate, about Urvas'ī, and the animal seems to cheer him up with its roar. He now enquires about the Paragon of Beauty, of a hill, the cave of which reverberates his question. Then he comes across a rushing hill stream with which he identifies his Beloved (see Preface). He now realises that it is a river and not Urvas'ī, as otherwise it would not have left him and proceeded to meet another Lover, viz., the Ocean. He now finds a deer with its female whose eyes resemble Urvas'ī's, and asks him about his Loved One. On the former proceeding to its mate and not heeding his question, the King says—

সুৰ্ভায়া অপমৰ্যতে পরিমবাস্যদ্ব বিচিবিবৰ্যম (V V —IV—66)

—Disgrace is always the result of misfortune

Now a stream of ruddy radiance breaks through a cleft rock, which the King finds, emanates from a bright

1 There should be no mark of interrogation and কোন স্থানে should be substituted for 'কোথাও কি

crimson gem He takes it up and then wants to fling it away, saying—

मन्दारपुष्पैरञ्जितार्या वसत्रा शिखायामयमर्पणीव ।

सैव प्रिया त्वमिति दुर्लभा मे किमेतन्मन्त्रोपहत करोमि ॥

—V V —IV—78

(Why should I take the jewel? She whose brow,
Bound with Mandara fillet, best had worn
The costly gem, is far— far from me, why
Should I disdain the ruby with my tears?)—W

(অর্পণের বোধ্য এষে প্রিয়ার মাংগর

—মন্দার কুসুম বাসে বাহা সুরভিত ,

কিন্তু সেই প্রিয়া মোব এখন কোথায় ?

কেন তবে কবি ইহা অশ্রুতে সিক্ত ?)—J T

A heavenly voice warns him to keep this sacred Sangamaniya, the gem of union, which has received its colour from its contact with Gauri's feet He then sees a creeper to which he becomes instinctively attached—

तन्वी मेघजलार्द्रपल्लवतया घौताधरेवाश्रुभिः,

शून्येवाभरणैः स्वकालविरहाद्विभ्रान्तपुष्पोद्गमा ।

—V V —IV—79

(No blossoms deck its boughs,
Nipped by the falling rains, like briny tears,
That wash the ruddy freshness from the lips,
The buds have perished, and the mournful shrub
All unadorned appears to pine in absence)—W

(মেঘ জলে আর্দ্র দেখি পল্লব লতার—

অশ্রুজলে ধৌত যেন অধর প্রিয়ার ।

লতাটী কুম্বহীন, গেছে কাল পুষ্পকুটিবাব—

প্রিয়াও ভ্রূণ হীন, না পবেন কোন অলঙ্কার।)—J T

With the jewel he clasps the creeper, which in his embrace is transformed into Urvas'ī

The King is now reminded by Urvas'ī of his duty as a ruler to promote the well being of his subjects, who must have become indignant on account of his prolonged absence They return to the capital in a cloud-chariot contrived by Urvas'ī at the King's request and having lightning flashes for its streamers and rainbows for its pictures —(Compare—*সেন্দ্রচাপ সচিব্রা* (M D—II—I))

On the occasion of the celebration of a sacred festival, the vulture, which takes away the magic stone, when the King is about to put it on his head after his bath at the confluence of the Ganges and Yamunā, falls pierced by the dart of a youth bearing the inscription—the arrow of A'yus, son of Pururavas and Urvas'ī Urvas'ī admits that he is their son According to the modification of Bharata's curse by Indra, Urvas'ī's separation from Pururavas becomes inevitable, because he has seen his son When this is conveyed to him by the sorrowful Urvas'ī, he faints On regaining consciousness, he says to her—

आश्वासितस्य मम नाम सुतोपलब्धया ।

सदयस्त्वया सह कृशोदरि ! विप्रयोग ॥

वरावर्तितातपस्व प्रथमाभवदृष्टया ।

बुधस्य वैद्व্যত इवाग्निरुपस्थितोऽयम् ॥ —V V—V—99

(Scarce have I known the blessing of a son,

When my fair bride is snatched from my embrace,

The tree that languished in the summer's blaze,
Puts forth reviving, as young rain descend,
Its leafy shoots, when lo ! the lightning bursts
Fierce on its top, and fells it to the ground)—W

(পুত্রলাভে আশ্বাসিত হইল যেমনি,
বিচ্ছেদ তোমার সনে ঘটিল অমনি ।
তাপক্লিষ্ট তব বথা প্রথমে শীতল হয়
নব মেঘ ববিষণে,
কিন্তু গো সহসা বথা পড়ে ধোব বজ্রানল
তরুপবি পবক্ষণে ॥ —J T

Nārada now comes down from Paradise in a halo of light to the court of the King to communicate to him the happy news that as Pururavas will be of great help to Indra in his future war with demons, the great god has allowed Urvasī to reside with him during his earthly life. In the presence of Nārada and the whole assembly the Kumāra or Prince is installed with the water and other sacred things brought by the nymph Rambhā from heaven. Kālidāsa describes in the guise of the investiture of Āyus the splendid inauguration of Kumaragupta by Chandragupta II. The songs of the two heralds teeming with wishes for the youthful Ā'yus' welfare are worth perusal—

প্রথম -বিজয়তা বিজয়তা যুবরাজ ।
অমরমুনিরিবাসি স্পষ্টরসেবিরিবেন্দু
দুঃখ হৃদয় শিশিরাস্তোষোদনস্যেব দেব ।
নব পিতুরনুরূপস্ব গুণৈর্লোককান্তৈ-
লিঙ্গনির্মিত সমাপ্তা বহু পুণ্যশিখরো ॥

द्वितीय —

तव पितरि पुरस्त्राङ्गताना स्थितेऽस्मिन् ।

स्थितिमति च विभक्ता त्वय्यजनाकम्पवैर्ये ॥

अधिकतरमिदानीं राजते राजपलङ्कमी

हिमवति जलधौ च वयस्ततोयेव गङ्गा ॥ — V V - V 133 4

(First— Glory, all glory on A'yus attending,
Still in the son may the father we trace,
Justice and valour together extending
The sway of his sceptre and fame of his race
Son of the monarch the universe filling
Son of the god of the mist shedding night,
Son of the sage, whom the great Brahma willing
Called with creation to life and to light.

Second— Now bright o'er the regions the glories are
gleaming
The sceptre and sway of the father have won,
And brighter than ever the radiance is
streaming,
Enhanced and confirmed by the fame of the son
So Ganga descends from the peaks of the
mountain,
That shine with the light of unperishing snows,
And mighty, meandering far from their
fountain,
In the breast of the ocean the waters repose)
— W

अथम् ।—देव मुनि अजि यथा

ब्रह्मा सम शृणेर निधान,

অত্রি সম শশধর,
 শশধব বুধের সমান ।
 বুধেব সমান যথা
 গুণ ধবে আমাদের ভূপ,
 লোব-কাস্তগুণে তথা
 তুমি হও গিত্ব অম্বরূপ ।
 কি করিব আলীকাদ—
 সৰ্ব্বশ্রেষ্ঠ কুল তব ,
 পূৰ্ব হতে সেই কুলে
 আশীষ সমাপ্ত সব ॥
 দ্বিতীয় ।—উচ্চদেবো অগ্রগণ্য,
 স্থিতিমান যথা হিমাচল,
 আছিল তোমাব পিতা ,
 লক্ষ্মী তাই তাঁহাতে অচল ,
 অসীম তোমাবো ধৈর্য্য ,
 তাই লক্ষ্মী তোমাদেব মাকে,
 বিতৰ্ক হইয়া যেন
 আরও কত শোভায় বিবাজে
 —গঙ্গা যথা বজ্রাকর আব হিমাচল,
 উভয়েই বিভাগিয়া দেন তাঁব জল ।—J T

Messrs Pandit and Arte translate অমর কান্ট-
 thus— “The divine sage Atri was the son of Brahma ,
 Indu or the Moon was the son of Atri, Budha was the
 son of the Moon or Indu, and king Pururavas was the
 son of Budha Each resembled his father by his quali-
 ties” They render মন্ব ক্লে thus— “Be like

thy father by thy qualities which are dear to people For in the family the highest of all, all blessings have attained their highest pitch " "The speaker means that the highest blessing he can wish to the young Prince is that he should be like his father, because all the blessings he can think of are already in the family" This is indeed a high and sincere praise Most likely it is another device of the great Poet to extol his patrons Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I A'tri may be Ś'rigupta, Chandra—Chandragupta I, Budha-Samudragupta, Pururavas—Chandragupta II and A'yus—Kumaragupta I Dīlīpa who stands for Samudragupta, is also compared to Budha(R V—I—47)

The Plot of Abhijna'na-S'akuntalam

(the Drama in which the fortune of the Heroine, S'akuntala' is determined by means of a remembrancer)

It is beautiful summer time Dushmanta of the Solar Race, the King of Hastinapura¹, is pursuing a gazelle in the sacred forest adjoining the hermitage of Kanva

1 The ancient Delhi situated on the Ganges about 52 miles from modern Delhi which is on the Yamunâ —M W

Now Vaikhāṇasa, an inmate of Kanva's hermitage, with his two disciples presents himself before the King, and raising his hand asks him not to kill this deer of the hermitage—

ন স্কলু ন স্কলু বাণ সন্নিপাত্যোদয়মরিমন্ ।

মৃদুনি মৃগশরীরে তুলরাশাবিবানি ॥

ক বত হরিণকানা জীবিত চাতিলোল ।

ক চ নিশিতনিপাতা বজ্রসারা শরাস্ত্রে ॥

তত্ সাধুকৃতসম্ভান প্রতিস হর সাযকম্ :

আৰ্চনায়া তে শস্ত্র ন গ্রহণু মনাগসি (A S—I—15)

(Why should his tender form expire,

As blossoms perish in the fire?

How could that gentle life endure

The deadly arrow, sharp and sure?

Restore your arrow to the quiver

To you were weapons lent

The broken hearted to deliver,

Not strike the innocent)—T K R

(শবক্ষেপ যোগ্য নয় লোল মৃগদেহ ,

কার্পাসবাণিতে অগ্নি নাহি দেখ কেহ ,

কোথা দেখ হবিণেব কোমল জীবিত ?

কোথা তব বজ্রসাব সায়ক নিশিত ?

নিবেশ তুণীবে বাণ সম্যক স হিত ,

আৰ্ত্ত পবিত্রাণে শব কব নিয়োজিত ,

নির্দোষী গ্রহাণে কভু না হয় উচিত ।)

The King does accordingly The hermit is pleased and confers on him the blessing that he will be get a son

endowed with all virtues and fit for being an emperor. He then asks the King to accept the hospitality of Kanva's hermitage, now in charge of his daughter Śākuntalā, as he is absent on a pilgrimage to Somatīrtha¹ to avert an evil fate that threatens her. Here are to be found Kanva's elderly sister Gautamī, Śākuntalā, born of Viśvāmitra and the nymph Menakā, and Śākuntalā's two companions Anasuyā and Priyamvadā. All the three are of marriageable age and will be given by Kanva in marriage as soon as worthy bridegrooms are found. Śākuntalā was so called because she was tended by a Sakunī or vulture, when her mother Menakā deserted her near Kanva's hermitage. Then she was adopted by Kanva as his daughter.

When Dushmanta comes near the hermitage he puts on modest garments consistent with its sacredness and makes over his jewels and bow to his charioteer. He then finds that his right hand has been throbbing. Now this is a good omen. Vaikhānasa has pronounced the blessing that the King will in the near future have an accomplished son. He presumes that the throbbing of the right hand just after Vaikhānasa's blessing must imply a new marriage. Therefore he says—

शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं, स्फुरति च बाहुः, कुत फलमिहास्य ? (A S I-37)
(This hermitage is the abode of purity and peace, my right hand throbs, how will the desirable result follow?)
This strikes the keynote of the play and prepares the mind of the reader for the love scene. The King then catches sight of Śākuntalā who with her companions

1 A place of pilgrimage on the coast of Gujerat near the temple of Somanātha—M. W.

is engaged in watering her favourite plants, and is struck by her beauty and grace. He says—

सरसिजमनुविद्ध शैवलेनापि रम्य ,
मलिनमपि हिमाशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति ।

इयमञ्चिकमनोज्ञा वल्कलेनापि तन्वी ,
किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकूतीनाम् ॥ —A S—I-47

(The meanest vesture glows
On beauty that enchants
The lotus livelier shows
Amid dull water plants,
The moon in added splendour
Shines for its spot of dark,
Yet more the maiden slender
Charms in her dress of bark)—T K R

(सरসিঙ্গ শোভে বধা শৈবালেব গায়,
কলকে হিমা শু দীপ্তি যথা বুদ্ধি পায়,
শকুন্তলা শোভে তথা পবিত্রা বঙ্কল,
কি না হয় অলঙ্কার স্তম্ভরীর বল ।)

When he watches S'akuntal, from a distance, she being pursued by a black bee, cries to her companions for protection, who in a laughing mood ask her to appeal to the King Dushmanta, because he is their protector. The King seizing this opportunity makes his appearance, and enters into conversation with the three maidens, in course of which Dushmanta and S'akuntala fall hopelessly in love with each other. The incident of the black bee is ingeniously contrived. It extricates the King from an awkward situation. Being the symbol

of a fickle lover it may be a foil to Dushmanta who is constant in his love for Śākuntalā. The King gathers from Anasuyā and Priyamvadā the history of Sakuntalā's birth and realises that there is likely to be no impediment to his union with Śākuntalā, as she is the daughter of a Kshatriya. He also learns that Kanva is seeking for her a fit bridegroom. Śākuntalā is over come with shame on account of the talk of her marriage and wants to leave the place. Anasuyā, however points out to her that in the absence of Kanva it is her duty to entertain the royal guest. Even this does not deter Śākuntalā from the thought of going, but Priyamvadā tells her that she is indebted to her for two potsful of water, and that she will not be allowed to leave the place till her debt have been paid. The King takes out his signet ring and gives it to Priyamvadā in payment of Sakuntalā's debt. When Priyamvadā and Anasuyā look at each other after reading the name on it, the King pretends that it is a present from the King. Then Priyamvadā asks Śākuntalā to go, as her debt has been paid by the kind gentleman, rather by the King himself. Śākuntalā, being reluctant to leave the King, tells her that she has no authority either to send her away or to keep her back. The King now says to himself, "Does she feel for me as I do for her?" At last his hope becomes free to indulge itself—

वाच न मिश्रयति यद्यपि मद्वचोभिः ,

कर्णं ददातुवहिता मयि भाषमाणे ।

काम न तिष्ठ त मदाननसमुखीना,

भूयिष्ठमनविषया न तु इष्टिरस्य ।

(Although she does not speak to me,
 She listens while I speak,
 Her eyes turn not to see my face,
 But nothing else they seek) — T K R

(তঁার বাক্যেবও যদি আমার বচন সহ,

না হয় মিশ্রণ ,

অবহিতচিত্ত হয়ে, সাগ্রহে বচন মোর

করেন শ্রবণ ।

আমার সম্মুখে তাঁর, যদিও অধিকক্ষণ,

নহে অবস্থান ,

তথাপি বিষয়ে শত্রু, তাঁহার নিবিষ্ট দৃষ্টি

থাকে অল্প কণ ॥)

Now a cry is heard that a wild elephant being pursued by the huntsmen of the King, has been destroying the trees of the hermitage Dushmanta now realises that his followers, who are looking for him, are disturbing the holy retreat, and decides to go back and meet them Sakuntala delays her going and stealthily looks at the King on the pretext that her foot has been pricked by a sharp kusā blade and her bark-mantle has been caught on a kuruvaka twig He comes back to his camp and meets his Vidushaka, Madhavya, who says that he is unable to move on account of the bustle of the hunt and want of food and drink The Vidushaka becomes glad, when the King orders his general to send back the archers, who have gone ahead, and to forbid the soldiers to disturb the holy place or even to approach it The King now opens his heart to his companion, and says that

Madhavya must be very unfortunate, as he has not seen S'akuntala, the paragon of visible things. The court jester tries to dissuade the King from entertaining any thought of marrying a girl of the hermitage, but is unsuccessful. Two disciples of Kanva now appear before the King and ask him to stay in the hermitage for sometime to protect it from Rakshasas. The King is delighted at the request, and finding that Madhavya will be of no use in his wooing of S'akuntala, sends him away to the capital, assuring him that he has been so long joking with him regarding his love for S'akuntala, and requests him to help his mother to celebrate her fast, named Pra vrittaparana, for which she has sent a special messenger to him.

The King chases the demons from the hermitage, to which he returns. He looks eagerly for his Beloved, as love has engrossed his whole being. He says to the God of Love—

तव कुसुमशरत्वं शीतरश्मित्वं मिन्दोर्द्वयमिदमयथार्थं दृष्ट्वापते मद्विषयेषु ।

विस्मजति हिमगर्भैरग्निमिन्दुमयूखैस्त्वमपि कुसुमबाणान् वज्रसारीकरोषि ॥

A S—III—7

(Thy shafts are blossoms, coolness streams
From moon-rays thus the poets sing,
But to the love-lorn, falsehood seems
To lurk in such imagining,
The moon darts fire from frosty beams,
The flowery arrows cut and sting)—T K R

(कन्दर्पैव पुष्पबाण कमनोर बले,

हिमां श्व हिम अंशु अशित झूठने ,

অবতারণ্য এই বাক্য মোর মনে হয়,

অন্তরূপ মোর পক্ষে নাহিক সংশয় ।

ইন্দুর শীতল রশ্মি দহে অগ্নি সম,

বজ্রতুল্য পুষ্পশব বিধে হৃদি মম ॥)

He adds that if the god would have obsessed the beautiful eyed S'akuntala and then shot his arrows at him, he would not have been sorry in the least

He then concludes that S'akuntala, has been spending the hours of midday heat on the bank of the Malini and finds her in a cane-bower (বৈতলকলা মণ্ডপে-III 14) lying on a flower strewn bench of stone with her two friends The King watches his love lorn Beloved from a distance Sakuntala is persuaded by her companions to write a letter to the King who makes his appearance at the dramatic moment and the two lovers are left alone The King persuades S'akuntala to marry him in the Gandharva manner, and leaves the place promising to take her to the capital¹ in the course of five days or more accurately as soon as the number of days equi-

1 Hastinapura being situated on the old bed of the Ganges about twentytwo miles northeast of Mirat and the hermitage of Kanva being located on the Malini near Bijnor, which is about sixty miles northeast of Mirat, there is an intervening distance of about fifty miles as M M H P Sastri says, between the hermitage and the capital, and if the King takes two days in arriving at his capital and one day in his preparation then the remaining two days are sufficient for the escort's reaching the hermitage for taking Sakuntala to Hastinapura Mr N L Dey in the Indian Antiquary (1923) says that the Malini falls into the Ghagra about fifty miles above Ayodhya that it is the Erineses of Megasthenes and that Lassen says that its present name is Chukā, the western tributary of the Sarayu

valent to the number (five) of the letters of his name—द, व, म, न, त—will be over—**एकैकमस उपैष्यतीति**

(A S—VI—78)

While Sakuntala is brooding over her separation from her Royal Lover the peevish sage Durvasa comes to the hermitage and finding Sákuntala inattentive, pronounces on her the curse that her dear one will forget her in the same way as she has forgotten the duty of hospitality Priyamvada asks Anasuya to appease this incarnation of anger, who is persuaded after much entreaty to modify his curse to the effect that there will be reunion between the lovers, when a remembrancer is shown Priyamvada says that there will be no difficulty, as the signet ring, which the King has given to Sakuntala, will serve the purpose of a memento or abhijnana (from which the Play has derived its name)

Now Kanva returns from his pilgrimage, becomes acquainted in his sacred meditation with the events that have happened, and decides to send Sákuntala to her husband in the company of his sister Gautami and his disciples S'arngarava and S'aradvata Sákuntala's parting from Kanva, Anasuya and Priyamvada, from the plants she watered and the female deer and the young gazelle she tended, is exceedingly beautiful in its pathos None feels the separation more keenly than Kanva—

वैकुण्ठं मम तावदीदृशमहो स्नेहादरण्यौकस ।

पीडयन्ते गृहिण कथं नु तनवाविच्छेदं खैनैवै ॥

A S—IV 80

(আমি বনবাসী যদি এতই বিষম,
না জানি সে গৃহীজন কতকষ্ট পায়,
বিদায় দেয় গো হবে আপন কন্তার ')—J T

(If such the force of grief
In an old hermit parted from his nursling,
What anguish must the stricken parent feel—
Bereft for ever of an only daughter !) — M W

अस्मान् साधु विचिन्तय सयमधनानुच्चैः कुल चात्मन-
स्त्वय्यस्या कथमप्यबाधवकृता स्नेहप्रवृत्तिम् च ताम् ।

সামান্যপ্রতিপত্তিপূৰ্ব্বক মন্য দারেণু ইদৃশ্য স্বয়া,
মাগ্নায়ত্তমত পর ন স্রলু তদ্বাচয় বধূবন্ধুনি ॥ A S IV 122

He asks his disciples to tell Dushmanta—
Most puissant prince! we here present before thee
One thou art bound to cherish and receive
As thine own wife, yea even to enthrone
As thine own queen—worthy of equal love,
With thine imperial consorts So much, Sire,
We claim of thee as justice due to us,
In virtue of our holy character—
In virtue of thine honourable rank—
In virtue of the pure spontaneous love
That secretly grew up 'twixt thee and her,
Without consent or privity of us
We ask no more—the rest we freely leave
To thy just feeling and to destiny) —M W

(আরবা তাপস ঋষি, উচ্চবংশ তব,
নিজে ববিরাহে বালা, না জিজ্ঞাসি' আত্মীয় বাধব ,

এইসব চিন্তা কবি, শোনো গো বাজন,
 অন্ন পত্নী সম ভাবি, 'দিও এবে সম্মান, সজ্জন ।
 অত পৰ বাহা কিছু ভাগ্যেব সে কথা,
 যতই বলি না কেন, কারও বাক্য হ'বে না অন্যথা ॥)—

—J T

This is a message worthy of the great Sage His
 advice to Śākuntalā is equally unexceptionable—

শ্রুশ্রুত্ব গুরুন কুর প্রিয়সঙ্গীভূতি সপত্নীজনে,
 মর্তুর্বিপ্রকৃতাপি রোষণতয়া মায়া প্রতীপ গম ॥
 মুখিষ্ঠ ভব দক্ষিণা পরিজনে ভাগ্যেবলুৎসেহিনী,
 যান্তেযম গৃহিণীপদ যুযতযো বামা কুলস্বাধব ॥

(Some read ভোগেণ for ভাগ্যেণ) — A S —IV 126

(Honour thy betters, ever be respectful
 To those above thee, and should others share
 Thy husband's love, ne'er yield thyself a prey
 To jealousy, but ever be a friend,
 A loving friend to those who rival thee
 In his affection, should thy wedded lord
 Treat thee with harshness, thou must never be
 Harsh in return, but patient and submissive,
 Be to thy menials courteous, and to all
 Placed under thee, considerate and kind,
 Be never self indulgent, but avoid
 Excess in pleasure, and when fortune smiles,
 Be not puffed up Thus to thy husband's house
 Wilt thou a blessing prove, and not a curse)

—M W

(গুপ্তায়া ববিবে সদা নিজ গুরুজনে,
সখীসম আচবিবে সগন্ধীব সনে ।
অপমান অচ্যাত্ত কবে যদি পতি,
হাব নাকো ঐতিকুশ তবু তাঁর ঐতি ।
সদয় হইবে সদা অনুচর পরে,
উন্নতা হবে না কতু ধনমদভরে ।
এইরূপ আচরণ কবে যে অন্ননা,
সেই তো গৃহিণী—অন্তে কুলেব বহুগা ।) — J T

When Kanva reminds Sākuntalā that the time for his religious duties has arrived, she says that he will not miss her, as he will be engrossed by his holy rites, but that she will feel her separation sorely. Kanva replies that he seems to be almost paralysed and does not know what to say and that his grief will be intensified by the seedlings which will spring from the seed she has been accustomed to offer as a sacrifice at the cottage door. Then he bids her goodbye. After Sākuntalā has left, he consoles Priyamvadā and Anusuya and says that he is himself again after sending Sākuntalā to her husband's house for—

अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव, तामद्य सप्रेम्य परिग्रहीतु ।

জাতো মমায় বিশদ প্রকাম, প্রত্যর্পিতনয়াস ইবান্तरात्मा ॥

A S —IV 151

(A girl is held in trust, another's treasure,
To arms of love my child today is given,
And now I feel a calm and sacred pleasure,
I have restored the pledge that came from heaven)

—T K R

(ভূগৃহে কঙ্কাবনে কবিলে প্রেবণ—
 ন্যাস-প্রত্যর্পণে বধা আনন্দিত মন—
 পাঠাইয়া শকুন্তলা স্বামীব আশ্রয়,
 নির্মল হইল আজ আমার হৃদয় ॥)

When S'akuntalā and her companions arrive at S'achitirtha after crossing the Malinī river, on which Kanva's hermitage stands, she unwittingly slips the ring from her finger into the Ganges

Meanwhile we have a glimpse of the life at the royal court at Hastinapura. The chamberlain complains of his advancing age and increasing bodily and mental weakness. He refers to the laborious days of rulers like Dushmanta, who cannot enjoy a moment's rest. The two heralds also mention the King's devotion to his subjects and his conscientious decision of civil and criminal cases. Just then the Prākṛita song of the second queen Hamsapadikā is heard—a lyric peerless for its melody and sentiment. We give below its Sanskritised form—

অমিনবমমুখোল্লপ ত্ব তথা পরিচুম্ব্য চুতমঞ্জরীম্ ।

কমলবসত্রিমাল্লনির্ভূত মধুकर বিস্মৃত অসি পূনা কথম্ ॥

—(A S —V—17)

(You who kissed the mango-flower
 Honey loving bee,
 Gave her all your passion's power
 Ah! so tenderly!
 How can you be tempted so
 By the ~~My~~ pet?

Fresher honey s sweet I know

But can you forget?—)T K R

(সহকাব মঞ্জবীরে চুখন করিয়া

সুখেতে বসেছ এবে কমলে আসিয়া ।

নব নব মধুগানে শোভ নিরন্তর,

কি হেতু ভুলিলে তাবে ওহে মধুকর ?) —S C C

This song reminds the King of his neglected love (Hamsapadika, neglected for the time being for the sake of Vasumatī), but it is applicable to the cases of Sākuntala and Hamsapadika, both of whom have been forgotten by him. It fills his mind with an undefined longing for some one, though Durvasa's curse prevents him from remembering Sakuntala. The King's appreciation of music and his belief in previous existence are evident from his remark—

রম্যনি বীক্ষ্য মমুদাশ্চ নিহাম্য দ্বাষ্টান্ ,

যদ্যুৎসুকীভবতি যৎ সুখিতোযপি জগত্ ॥

তচ্ছ তস্যা স্মরতি নূনমবোধযুগ্ম ,

মাধুস্থিরাণি জননান্তরসৌহৃদানি ॥ —A S —V 25

(সুখের মাঝাবে যবে বিচলিত মন,

সৌন্দর্য্য-দর্শনে কিম্বা সুখের শ্রবণে,

প্রাক্তন-আসক্তি চিত্ত কবাম্ম স্মরণ—

যদিও বিশ্বত এবে—জ্ঞানে সর্বজনে ॥)

(Not seldom in our happy hours of ease,
When thought is still, the sight of some fair form,
Or mournful fall of music breathing low,
Will stir strange fancies, thrilling all the soul

With a mysterious sadness and a sense
 Of vague, yet earnest longing Can it be
 That the dim memory of events long past,
 Or friendships formed in other states of being
 Flits like a passing shadow o'er the spirit ?)

—T K R

Sákuntala and her companions now present themselves before the King, and remind him of his marriage at the hermitage. But he tells them mildly that this is a mere story. He cannot recognise Sákuntala even when her veil is taken off. Sárngarava's hard words, though he is dissuaded by Sáradvata, cannot persuade the King to take back Sákuntalā whom he regards as another's wife. She now tries to prove her marriage with him by the production of the ring, but it cannot be found. The King smiles sarcastically and says women have ready wit. Sákuntala after saying that fate is too strong for her, mentions an incident, namely, that a fawn, her adopted son, declined to drink water from his hand, but it did from hers. The King replies that worldly minded men are attracted by such selfish, sweet but false words of women. Gautamī retorts that Sákuntala who has grown up in the hermitage, is ignorant of such artfulness. The King remarks that even birds like the cuckoo cunningly cause their eggs to be hatched by other birds. Sákuntalā now becomes angry and says that a wretch like him judges all by his own false heart. Her grief now knows no bounds. Sárngarava remarks—

अतः परीक्ष्य कर्त्तव्यं विशेषात् सङ्गतं रह ।

अज्ञातहृदयेष्वेव वैरीभवेति सौहृदम् ॥ —A S—V—105

(Not hastily should marriage be contracted,
And specially in secret Many a time,
In hearts that know not each other's fancies,
Fond love is changed into most bitter hate)

—M W

(পবীক্কা করিয়া কার্য্য করাই বিহিত,

বিশেষ গোপনপ্রেমের আবার তা উচিত ।

অজানা হৃদয়ে প্রেম করিলে স্থাপিত,

সৌহৃদ সে বৈরিতায় হয় পরিণত ॥) —J T

The King asks the hermits why they trust the girl and accuse him of an imaginary crime S'ringarava indignantly tells the assembly that they have heard from the King his base reply viz, that she is to be disbelieved, who has not learnt deceit from her birth, but they are to be trusted, who have made the art of deceiving others their study He decides to leave S'akuntala at Hastinapura and to return to the hermitage with his other companions, as they cannot take back a lawfully married woman from her husband's house As advised by his priest, the King allows S'akuntala to remain in the former's house, but she is taken away by her mother through the air to the hermitage of the divine sage M'richa in the Himalayas

Now the chief of the Police and two constables come with a fisherman in their custody, in whose possession the signet ring belonging to the King and lost by Sakuntala, has been found The fisherman

states that it has been found in the stomach of a fish, which he has caught. When the ring is produced before the King, and the story is related by the police chief Mitravasū, the King's brother in law, the former asks the latter to give a suitable reward to the fisherman. But the policemen, who have beaten the fisherman to their heart's content before his guilt has been established, become satisfied only when he has given one half of his reward to the policemen for their drink.

Mr. Ryder remarks, "The real humorous relief is given by the fisherman in the opening scene of the sixth act. That, it may be remarked, is the only scene of rollicking humour in Kalidasa's writings."¹ Like the Porter's scene in *Macbeth* and the Grave-digger's scene in *Hamlet*, it affords relief to the tension of feeling caused by Dushmanta's repudiation of the innocent Śākuntalā in the preceding act. Besides it gives an account of the loss and recovery of the fatal ring, and thus prepares our minds for what follows.

The nymph Mīśrakēśī (or Sīnumatī), who is sent by Menakā to ascertain how Dushmanta has been doing after his renunciation of Śākuntalā, finds that the King, being reminded of all the details of his marriage with Śākuntalā by the recovered ring, has been passing sleepless days and nights in great remorse and trying his best to console himself with a life-like portrait of his Beloved, which he himself has painted. He sighs and says—

साक्षात् प्रियामुपगतामपहाय पूर्वं ।

चित्रार्पितामहमिमा बहु मननमान ॥

ओतोबहु पथि निकामजलामतीतत्र

जात सखे प्रणयवान् मृगतृष्णिकायाम् ॥—A S—VI—99

(My Darling came to me and I spurned her,
Now to her pictured charms show great respect
Vast water scorned, though I a traveller,
The mirage, Friend, to drink, I, fool expect)

(मन्त्रुधे आसिन प्रिया, तज्जिनाम तारे,

छिद्विद्वि प्रियतमा मञ्जारी सादरे

निर्वीर्य गधिक येन जलाशय त्राजे,

तृष्णान् आकूल प्राण मरीचिका तजे ।)

The King in his excitement identifies the portrait with its living original, and wants to punish a bee which sits on the painted S'akuntala's spray like tender lips

The nymph departs and just at this time Mādhavya, who has been sent to the garret with the portrait, as the King feared that the chief queen, who was coming, might not like it, utters a loud cry of agony, which the King comes to learn from a messenger sent upstairs, is due to his assault by a demon, who later on turns out to be Indra's charioteer, Mātali, who has come down from heaven in accordance with his master's orders to remind Dushmanta of his kingly duties, one of which is the repression of demons, the foes of men and gods, for which he has been asked to come up to heaven in Indra's chariot. The King at once complies with his request. The demons are defeated. Mātali is

now taking the King back to his capital in the celestial car the appearance of the earth from which is thus graphically described by the King—

মাতকে । বেগাবতরণাদাশ্রয়দর্শন সলঙ্ঘ্যতে মনুষ্যলোক । তথাহি-
 স্রীকানামবরোধীতীষ শিখরাঙ্কুশজতা মেদিনী,
 পর্ণস্রান্তরলীনতা বিজহতি স্কন্ধোদয়াৎ পাদপা ।
 সন্তানৈকানুভাবনহস্তলিকা বরফি ভজন্তাপগা
 কেনাপুনর্দক্ষিপতেষ পক্ষ্য ভুবন মত্পাশংমানীযতে ॥

—A S—VII—21

(Matali ! how wonderful the appearance of the earth as we rapidly descend !—

Stupendous prospect! yonder lofty hills
 Do suddenly uprear their towering heads
 Amid the plain, while from beneath their crests,
 The ground receding sinks, the trees whose stems
 Seemed lately hid within their leafy tresses,
 Rise into elevation and display
 Their branching shoulders Yonder streams whose
 waters,
 Like silver threads, but now were scarcely seen,
 Grow into mighty rivers Lo! the earth
 Seems upward hurled by some gigantic power)

—M W

(স্নেহের বেগে মনে হ'ছে—

সহসা পর্বত যেন উর্কে ভাসি'উঠে,
 শৈল-চূড়া হতে খব। যেনয়ে খলিত,
 গভ্রাচ্ছন্ন তরু দেহে শাখা ওঠে ফুটে,
 স্রবসম নদীগুলি হ্রগো বিস্তৃত ।

অবশেষে কে বেনবে এই ধবাখানি

উৎকেশি' সবলে মম পাশে দেয় আনি ॥) — J T

Then Matali takes the King to the hermitage of Maricha, the abode of supreme beauty and peace on the Himalayas, (पूर्वापरसमुद्रावगाह हेमकूटो नाम किपुरुषपञ्चत

—A S—VII—24, cf K S—I—1, पूर्वा वगाह)

where he finds a boy playing with a lion cub, and compelling it to show its teeth, though two hermitesses are trying hard to prevent him from doing so. The King instinctively feels ardent affection for him, and is requested by the girls to make the child set the lion-cub free. He does so and the hermitesses wonder at the ready compliance of the boy who on being questioned, tells him that he is the son of Dushmanta. The description of the boyish freaks of Sarvadamana and also of the hermitage is inimitable in its picturesqueness. Sakuntala now presents herself. Nothing can be more touching than the sight of Śakuntala in soiled clothes, wearing a single braid of hair and looking pale for her fasting on account of her separation from her husband—

वसने परिधूसरे वसाना नियमक्षाममुखी धृतैकवेणि ।

अतिनिष्करणस्य शुद्धशीला मम दीर्घं विरहवृत्तं विमर्ति ॥

A S—VII—117

(Clad in the weeds of widowhood her face
Emaciate with fasting, her long hair
Twined in a single braid, her whole demeanour
Expressive of her purity of soul ,

With patient constancy she thus prolongs
The vow to which my cruelty condemned her)

—M W

(পৰিধান বসনটি পূৰ্ব মলিন,
উপবাসে শুষ্ক মুখ, একবেণী বাধা ।
শুদ্ধনীলা বাপি' দীৰ্ঘ বিয়হের দিন,
স্বকঠোৰ ব্রতবন্ধ কবেন সমাধা ॥)

—J T

She is recognised by the King, who expresses his repentance of what he has unwittingly done They then are taken to Maricha and Aditi, the parents of the gods before whom they prostrate themselves

The Great Sage promises to communicate their union to Kanva, and tells the King that his son Sarva damana under the name of Bharata, will become the emperor of Bharatavarsha

Before Dushmanta's leaving for his capital with his wife and son, the Sage Maricha asks him what more he can do for him The King replies—

প্রবর্ততা ব্রহ্মতিহিতায় পার্থিব , সরস্বতীশ্রুতমহতা মহীয়স্যতাম্ ।
মমাপি চ ক্ষপয়তু নীললোহিত পুনর্মম পরিগতশঙ্কিতাঙ্গম্ ॥

A S—VII—179

(May Kings reign only for their subjects' weal,
May the divine Sarasvati, the source
Of speech and goddess of dramatic art,
Be ever honoured by the great and wise ,
And may the purple self existent God,
Whose vital energy pervades all space,
From future transmigrations save my soul)

—M W

(ভূপতি প্রজ্ঞাৰ হিতে হউন তৎপৰ,
 শাস্ত্ৰজ্ঞেব বাক্য লোকে কৰুক আদৰ ।
 আৰ সেই সৰ্বশক্তি শত্ৰু ত্ৰিলোচন,
 পুনৰ্নয় দুখ মোৰ কৰুন মোচন ॥)

—J T

The union, the seed of which is sown in the sacred and peaceful hermitage of Kanva, is consummated and bears flower and fruit in the purer and calmer hermitage of Maricha

There are important points of difference between the plot of Abhijnana-Sakuntalam and the story in the Adiparva of the Mahabharata, on which it is based. Dushmanta in the epic sets out for a deer-hunt with a large escort and followed for some distance by all classes of his subjects. Then he kills a large number of animals with his various weapons. Now he arrives alone at Kanva's peaceful and charming hermitage, where he sees the beautiful S'akuntala and becomes enamoured of her. Then at his request, S'akuntala narrates unblushingly the story of the seduction of Visvamitra by the nymph Menaka and of her being the child of their union. Then the King requests her to marry him, as she is a Kshatriya, but she asks him to wait for a while till the return of her father Kanva who has gone to gather fruits. But the King cannot wait, and requests her to marry him forthwith in the Gandharva manner, to which she consents on his promise that her son will be his heir. The King also promises to send a large armed escort to take her to his capital, but he does not keep his word. Kanva on his return after

a short while gladly assures her that she has not done anything unrighteous by marrying the worthy king, Dushmanta. After Bharata, Sakuntala's son, has become six years old, Kanva sends them to Hastinapura, but Dushmanta denies his marriage with S'akuntala. Hard words are exchanged between the two, and in the quarrel Sakuntala appears to be victorious, but Dushmanta obstinately declines to recognise her as his wife and Bharata as his son. S'akuntala and her child are obliged to go away, but a heavenly voice asks the King to recall them, which the King agrees to do. Dushmanta tells those who are present that he knows S'akuntala and Bharata as his wife and son respectively, and adds that his subjects might have been displeased with him, if he would have treated them as such merely on S'akuntala's statement.

A comparison of the plot of Kalidasa with the story of the Mahabharata establishes the fact that immense improvement has been effected in the story by the Poet. The hunting scene has been much shortened. S'akuntala has been provided with companions who narrate to the King the story of her birth and bring about the union of Sakuntala with her lover. Kanva's absence is not for a short duration, but is likely to be a long one, as he has undertaken a pilgrimage to the remote Somatirtha to avert an evil which may befall his adopted daughter, and so her marriage without Kanva's permission appears to be more becoming. S'akuntala imposes no condition before her marriage. Her child is born after she has seen and been rejected by her husband. This renders the story more prob-

able than the Mahabharata version which makes the heroine see her husband when her child has attained his sixth year. Dushmanta's forgetfulness is due to Durvasa's curse and is not deliberate and ignoble. The exchange of words between him and S'akuntalā is more dignified. Dushmanta feels keenly his cruel treatment of S'akuntalā, and their reunion is effected in an atmosphere of purity, peace and happiness in the hermitage of Maricha in the Himalayas. The second, third, fourth, sixth and a considerable part of the seventh Acts are creations of the Poet. Mr. Ryder says "In the epic there are three characters Dushyanta, S'akuntalā, and Kanva, with the small boy running about in the background. To these Kalidāsa has added from the palace, from the hermit age and from the Elysian region, which is represented with vague precision in the last Act¹." So we find the originality of the Poet is shown in the handling the plot with masterly skill, in his accurate delineation of characters, and in the appropriateness of imagery and in the exquisite and indescribable beauty of the piece as a whole. The couplet which describes the celestial beauty of Gaurī is applicable to his writings and specially to his *Abhijnana-S'akuntalam*—

सम्बोपमाद्वयसमुच्चयेन यथापूद्वेषम् विनिवेशितेन ।

सा निर्मिता विश्वसृजा प्रयत्नादेकस्थसौन्दर्यमदिदञ्चयेव ॥

G S—149 .

(Surely the Maker's care had been to bring
From Nature's store, each sweetest loveliest thing,

As if the world's Creator would behold
All beauty centred in a single mould—G)

(একত্র দেখিতে বাতা উপমা-সমষ্টি,
স্বজ্বিলেন সবতনে গৌবী দেহ বষ্টি ।
যথাস্থানে কবিলো তিনি সন্নিবেশ
মনোহর উমা দেহে সৌন্দর্য্য অশেষ ।)

That the *Malavikāgnimitram*, *Vikramorvas'ī*, and *S'akuntalā* are the works of the same author, is proved by numerous coincidences. The three plays begin with the invocation of Ś'iva, the God of Kalidasa. The heroes of the three are three powerful sovereigns of India—Agnimitra, Pururavas and Dushmanta respectively. All the kings are much married according to the custom of the time. Each of the kings has besides the chief queen Dharmini in *Malavikāgnimitram*, Aus'inari in *Vikramorvas'ī*, and Vasumatī in *Abhijnāna S'akuntalam*, other queens, though the chief queen is addressed as Devī or Goddess and is much respected. The queens become naturally jealous, when their royal lovers transfer their love to new-comers, but Iravatī, the second queen in *Malavikāgnimitram*, is unseemly in her jealousy and anger. The heroine, in each case is a new-comer—*Malavikā*, *Urvas'ī*, or *S'akuntalā*, with whom the king falls hopelessly in love which however is reciprocated. There are three *Vidushakas* or court-jesters who, though fond of too much sweetmeat, act as confidants of the kings and extricate them from many difficulties. Of them, the most clever is Gautama in *Malavikāgnimitram*. The ring or jewel exerts considerable in-

fluence on the progress of the action and determines the fortune of the hero and heroine in each of the plays. In *Malavikāgnimitram*, it brings about the release of Malavika, for whom the king has been longing, of Urvasī in *Vikramorvasī* who has been changed into a creeper, and recalls to Dushmanta his luckless wife, whom he has on account of Durvasa's curse unwittingly renounced. Dushmanta overhears the conversation of Sakuntala and her companions Agnimitra that of Malavika and her friends, and Urvasī that of the king and Vidushaka. The portrait of the heroine is utilised in both *Malavikāgnimitram* and *Sākuntalā*. The picture of Malavika makes Agnimitra long for union with her. Dushmanta paints the portrait of Sākuntala, whom he has unknowingly disowned, for consoling himself, as there is then no likelihood of his being reunited with her. The Vidushaka in *Vikramorvasī* asks the King to console himself with a portrait of Urvasī.

Like Urvasī Sākuntala, when she is about to leave the King, pretends that her foot has been pricked by a thorn and her tunic caught by a branch, in order to delay her going. Urvasī's son Ayus has a live peacock to play with like Bharata, the child of Sākuntalā, who plays with a lion cub and then with the clay figure of a peacock. Agnimitra has also a son Vasumitra who is old enough to conquer by his prowess the formidable Greek King Menander who has captured his grandfather's sacrificial horse and the communication of whose victory to his mother Dharini gives her great delight and increases her magnanimity.

But there is like Bharata and Ayus, a child (a daughter, named Vasulakshmi, of Dharini) who communicates to Agnimitra the name of Malavika, and whose being attacked by a monkey extricates him later on from a very delicate situation. Both Pururavas and Dushmanta slay the foes of Indra, who in his turn helps them to be united with their beloved ones Sákuntala and Urvasi communicate their love by means of letters, while Malavika does so by means of a song

The three Kings the heroes of the three plays, are Kalidasa's ideal sovereigns. We are not to judge them by the standard of modern times. They are, of course, the creations of the different periods of his literary life. The dramatist does not venture to make a religious story the subject matter of his first work. The reason is obvious. He is not going to write an epic and he is aware that the greatest liberty is to be taken with the subject matter to make it the vehicle of a good drama. So he chooses a well known historical theme, namely the reign and achievements of the greatest of the S'unga monarchs, the staunch adherents of Brahmanism, to whose efforts its revival after its collapse during the reigns of As'oka and his successors, is due. Pushyamitra, the general (सेनापति—which name he retains even after he has become independent) of Brihadratha, the last Mauryya King, kills his master, and subverts the Mauryya Empire, and becomes the Emperor with his capital at Pataliputra. His son Agnimitra, the viceroy of his father at Vidisa (Bhilsa), extends the boundaries of his kingdom to Berar by defeating

its King, and he (according to the Poet, his son Vasu mitra) inflicts a decisive defeat on the formidable Greek King, Menander, in the north, and thus destroys for good Greek supremacy in the Punjab Such a powerful Hindu King is likely to be the hero of Kalidasa

Agnimitra falls desperately in love with Malavika, the Vidarbha Princess, as soon as he sees her portrait He is glad that it is reciprocated—

অনাতুরেণোত্কণ্ঠিতযো প্রসিদ্ধমতা

সমাগমেনাপি রতিন্ মা প্রতি ।

পরস্পরপ্রাঙ্গিনিরাক্ষযোজ্বল

শরীরনাশোপি সমানুরাগযো ॥—M M —III—124

(Where ardour and apathy join,
Such union dislikes mind mine ,
Two loving hearts should rather pine
Till death ends all their hopeless time)

(এক পক্ষে থাকে যদি উদাসীন ভাব,

অন্য পক্ষে সোৎকর্ষ গাঢ় অনুরাগ,

এ বিকল্প স্থলে যদি

কোনরূপে ঘটে সন্মিলন,

সে সঙ্গম স্ত্রে । কভু

চুষ্ট নাহি হয় মোব মন ।

সম-অনুরাগী হয়ে

পবন্যবে যদিও না পায়,

কায় নাশ হইলেও

ভবু আমি ভালবলি তায় ॥)—J T

Though obsessed with love, Agnimitra does not forget his duties as King. He despatches an army under commander in chief Virasena, the son of the chief queen Dharini's father, by a woman of a lower caste to punish Yajnasena, the recalcitrant king of Berar, who imprisoned Madhvasena, his rival, when the latter was coming to Agnimitra with his sister Malavika to ally himself with him by giving her to him in marriage, and thus to obtain his support. Agnimitra gives his consent to and highly appreciates the various devices of his Vidushaka for his union with Malavika. He is always respectful to Dharini, the chief queen, though she shows her displeasure on the occasion of Malavika's appearance as a dancer and singer, though she says to him in a tone of bitter satire — "If you had displayed such cleverness in the performance of your duties as King, it would have been more becoming" (M M — I 142), and though she imprisons Malavika and her attendant Vakulavalika in accordance with the request of the second queen, Iravati. He is never discourteous towards any one, and exercises extraordinary self-control, when the irritable and rude Iravati in her fit of intoxication and anger after her seeing him and Malavika together, tries to strike him with her girdle and spurns him who has fallen at her feet.

It is pleasing to notice his reverential treatment of the learned and tactful Parivrajika or Nun, who with her brother Sumati, the minister of Madhvasena, wanted to escort Malavika to his court after Madhvasena's imprisonment, but who after her

brother's murder by robbers, became separated from Malavika, and who is now living in the palace, as the adviser of Dharini, without her being recognised even by Malavika

Agnimitra besides being a great general and administrator is a patron of the singing and dancing masters Ganadasa and Haradatta and also of the painting master whose portraits fill the picture hall. The King abides by the advice of his chief minister and does not appear to be an autocrat. He says to his minister Bahataka "What is your opinion regarding this matter?" and only when he says that he is of the same mind with him, he requests him to ask Virasena to march against the king of Berar.

We in the present age cannot approve of his being desperately enamoured of the girl Malavika, as he has already two queens, the elder Dharini being almost the exemplar of her sex and the second Iravati being noted for her physical charms—specially when he, if he has not already passed middle age, is very close to it, as besides the child Vasulakshmi, he has got by Dharini a son Vasumitra, who is old enough to be appointed by his aged grandfather, the caretaker of his sacrificial horse, and to defeat the powerful Greek king and his disciplined cavalry on the southern banks of the Sindhu.

Pururavas is third in descent from the god of the moon. Urvashi is a nymph of the court of the god of heaven. Pururavas is a valiant King. He rescues Urvashi from the formidable demon Kesi, the enemy of Indra. Pururavas and Urvashi, as soon as they meet,

fall in love with each other, which is most ardent and and would have fitted these demi-gods, had they been endowed with a proportionate amount of self control The King indulges in a hyperbole when he describes Urvas'í's graces, which reminds one of Cassio's admiration for a far nobler woman—

আমরণসমামরণ প্রসাধনবিধে প্রসাধনবিশেষ ।

উপমানস্ত্যপি সস্ত্রে প্রতুপমান বদুস্তস্তা ॥VV—11 33

(Ornament's ornament her body fair,
Toilet's toilet and, Friend, beyond compare)

(এমন সে তনুখানি-অলঙ্কার, তাবো যেন হয় অলঙ্কার,

বেশ ভূষা প্রসাধন তাবো যেন প্রসাধন বিশেষ প্রকার,

উপমা'ব স্থল যাহা তাবো যো একমাত্র উপমা আধার ॥ ~J T

It is not necessary for Pururavas to devise expedients like Agnimitra to attain the object of his desire It is left to Urvas'í, whose love is equally fiery, to contrive the means of meeting her lover The King is, however, respectful to Aus'ínari, the chief queen who though a little jealous at first, makes over her husband to her rival in a spirit of noble resignation Yet neither does the infatuated King nor the selfish and passionate Urvas'í rise to the height of the occasion and imitate this high minded lady The King, whose judgment and reason have been perverted by his passion for Urvas'í, is easily persuaded by her to leave the administration of his kingdom to his ministers and to enjoy their honeymoon in the Gandhamadana forest close to the Kailasa mountain The fickle King looks at a Vidyadhara girl in the

Himālayas and offends the frivolous nymph, who in a fit of jealousy leaves her lover and treads on sacred grounds and is turned into a creeper. The King becomes distracted for the loss of his Beloved, roams over the mountain in quest of her and utters very fine lyrics in his frenzy, till the gem, he has found out accidentally, restores Urvasī to his embrace. He is now persuaded by Urvasī to return to his capital and to resume his duties as King. Though this amour makes him entirely forgetful of the duties he owes to his subjects, it does not entirely unman him. His aid is still sought against demons by Indra, who allows Urvasī for that reason to dwell with him during his earthly life. After the restoration of his son and with the advance of age, the sense of duty returns to him, and he entertains the idea of paying respects to his chief queen in the company of his son. It is idle to say that the dramatist chose Pururavas and Urvasī for his hero and heroine, knowing that they were inferior personages. They were his ideals, when he composed the piece in the full flush of his youth.

Duśmanta, the ruler of Hastinapura, the hero of *Sākuntalā*, Kalidāsa's masterpiece and last dramatic creation, is the ideal of his maturity and resembles his Dilīpa, Raghu, Rāma and Atithi as the exemplar of sovereigns.

The love-episode begins in the same way as in the two other plays. But here the King in pursuit of a deer comes to the hermitage of Kanva, who is absent on a pilgrimage, and sees from a distance the girl

Sákuntala, the paragon of beauty and innocence watering her favourite plants and is captivated both by the refinement of her beauty and also by the nobility of her heart. Probably for ascertaining all details regarding the feasibility of his union with Sákuntala, he pretends that he is merely an officer of the King. Though love as in the two other cases becomes an absorbing passion, it does not make him, who resembles Agnimitra, but differs from Pururavas in this respect, oblivious of his kingly duties—he orders the captain to see that the peace of the hermitage be not disturbed, he himself chases the R kshasa foes of the sages away, and sends his court jester back to the palace as a substitute for him in the religious ceremony of his mother, for which she has sent a special messenger requesting her son's presence. As both Dushmanta and Sakuntala fall deeply in love with each other there appears to be no bar to the celebration of their marriage after a courtship of a short duration. He returns to his capital assuring her that she will be taken there in the course of five days, but the curse of the irritable Durvasa makes him forget every thing about his new wife. This silence of the King increases Sakuntala's anxiety and on the return of Kanva to the hermitage, it is decided that Sákuntala, who has been feeling keenly her separation from her husband, and is in an interesting condition, should be sent to her husband with the hermit's sister and two disciples. There will be no difficulty in the King's recognition of his newly-married wife in spite of Durvasa's curse, as a remembrancer—the King's signet

ring—is on her finger But unlucky as she is, she lets the memento slip into the Ganges, while she on her way to her husband's capital takes her bath at S'achitirtha, a sacred place of pilgrimage

While S'akuntalā with her companions is nearing the metropolis, we find the King industrious in promoting the well being of his subjects, deciding impartially civil and criminal cases, realising from his subjects an equitable, i e , one sixth of the produce as revenue, and though immersed in kingly duties not forgetting those he owes to his queens his servants—who even when they become old are the objects of his affectionate care—and to the arts (painting, music etc), of which he is a patron and which he himself cultivates A significant song sung melodiously by the second queen, Hamsapadikā, touches the inmost chords of his heart, and though in the nature of Hamsapadikā's gentle reprimand, rouses in his mind an intense longing for some loved one, which he attributes to his experiences in some previous birth (see p 356)

The King's reverence for Brahmins, specially hermits, who pay him, as he says, one sixth of their religious merit as revenue, which is invaluable and eternal (A S—II 67), is considerable He asks the messenger who has brought the news of the coming of the party from the hermitage, to be all attention to them, and to bring them to a place, where he can accord to them a fitting welcome He receives them very cordially When asked by Kanva's disciples to accept S'akuntalā as his wife he gently, though under great provocation

from S'rngarava, whose fiery temper has not been curbed by asceticism, declines, as he cannot regard another man's wife as his own. This respect for the wives of others is found again when the King in the hermitage of Maricha feels it delicate to ask the name of Sarvadamana's mother S'akuntala, whose heart has been quaking with some indefinite fear of non-recognition by her royal husband, is now almost in a state of collapse. Then she makes a last effort and wants to convince him of their marriage by means of the ring, which cannot be produced, and by means of past incidents, which the King cannot remember on account of the curse. Though the King uses some hard words to Gautami about the artfulness of women, which we do not expect from him, whom we have so long known as the pink of courtesy and for which he is rightly reprimanded by S'akuntala, yet on the departure of her companions, he entrusts S'akuntala to his priest, but her mother Menaka carries her away to Paradise, as this desert like world is not a fit abode for this drooping flower of the hermitage.

After dismissing S'akuntala, the King becomes filled with intense remorse, and an indistinct idea, that Sakuntala may have been his lawfully wedded wife, broods over his mind. Now the chief police officer produces before the King the lost ring, which has been found in the belly of a fish caught by a fisherman. It reminds the King of all the incidents of his wooing and marrying S'akuntala, and his condition can better be realised than described. But what can he do now? Reparation is hopeless. His Beloved is beyond recall.

He becomes disconsolate, forbids the celebration of the spring festival (corresponding to the Dol or Holi festival of modern times) and lives a retired life. He paints a lifelike portrait of his Beloved and of the hermitage where Nature holds her court—its charming river, its beautiful flowers, its gentle fawns and above all, its presiding deity—his maltreated wife. While the King is poring over the picture he has painted on which he has poured out the inmost feelings of his heart and is recalling the incidents of his wooing S'akuntalā with all its details with a mixed feeling of joy and sorrow and sometimes deluding himself with the idea that he is in the company of his Loved One at the hermitage, he is interrupted by the message that Vasumatī, the chief queen, is coming. Though S'akuntalā has been occupying almost the whole of his heart, yet he realises that the chief queen is highly sensitive and that nothing should be done to wound her feelings, and so he asks the Vidushaka to take away the picture, and prepares himself for welcoming her with as much cordiality as possible. The high minded queen being not desirous of increasing her husband's worry by reminding him of his treachery towards her, does not come to the King's presence but retires after delivering to a messenger the despatch which the minister has sent to his master requesting him to settle as soon as possible the case of succession to the property of Dhana-vriddhi or Dhanamitra a rich merchant, who has died leaving several wives, one of whom is with child. This reminds the King of the fact that he has sent away

Sákuntala who is also with child, and adds to the poignancy of his grief. We also see how the dramatist avoids a wrangling scene like that between Agni mitra and Iravatí or between Pururavas and Ausínari, which would have disturbed the atmosphere of ardent remorse and intense longing for the loved one in the mind of the King, which has been created by the Dramatist's fancy. It is evident that Dushmanta's attachment to Sákuntala, which had a sensual origin, has been purified and ennobled by suffering. We also find here that though the King has become broken hearted and been living a retired life, he does not forget his duties as a ruler, to the strenuousness of which the Kanchuki has already borne testimony (Act V—6). Further if he had been greedy he would have easily found out a pretext for misappropriating the property of the rich merchant who lost his life when his boat sank. Last of all his assurance that even if there were no lawful heir, he would become the friend of the relict, shows his magnanimity.

Indra sends his charioteer Mitali to bring the King to heaven in his own chariot for helping him in a war with demons and also for effecting his reunion with Sakuntali. On his way home after the repression of the demons, Mitali takes him to the hermitage of Maricha where he meets his son Sarvadamana, who though a mere child with a child's frowardness is bold and strong enough to play with a lion's cub. There the King also finds to his great joy his long lost wife. He makes all possible reparations for his past rude treatment, which, as we know, has been due

to Durvasa's curse

In the midst of his delight the King does not forget to pay due obeisance to the sage Maricha and his wife Aditi, the parents of the gods, whose hermit age in the Himalayas, the abode of peace and happiness, has so long given shelter to S'akuntalā and her child, and also to communicate to the sage Kanva the news of their reunion

The Poet has given several hints regarding Dushmanta's handsome features. The charioteer says at the outset that he is like Pinakī or S'iva (Act I-1) Priyamvada is struck by his beauty, agreeable conversation and gravity (I 81) The Vidushaka makes him the paragon of beauty (II 43) Finally the Kanchukī and the nymph Mīśrakasī or Sīnumatī bear testimony to his agreeable person and the latter adds that S'akuntalā has been suffering misery for a worthy person (VI 31 to 33) He is the ideal sovereign of Bharatavarsha in Kālidasa's maturity, though judged by the standard of modern times there appear some spots in this otherwise bright luminary. We cannot appreciate his courting of Sakuntalā, when he has got at least two wives, nor his impatient marriage with her before the arrival of her guardian Kanva, nor his hypocrisy in sending the Vidushaka away and assuring him that he has no eye on the girls of the hermitage—

क वयं कं परोक्षमन्मथो मृगशावै सह वक्षिंस्तो जन ।

परिहासविजल्पितं सखे परमार्थेन न गृह्यता वच ॥

(There is considerable difference between worldly minded men as we are and these hermit girls insensible of love and brought up with young gazelles. Hence what I have told you is a mere joke), nor can we approve of his remarks on the artfulness of women, addressed to Gautamī and Śākuntalā. Again his evasion of his mother's request cannot but be reprehended. Though we are bound to condemn the King's marrying Śākuntalā during her father's absence, yet we must remember that his passion for Śākuntalā does not wholly pervert his judgment and reasoning. We see him first concluding that she is Kanva's daughter by a non Brahman girl (I-61) and is therefore capable of becoming his wife. Then we find him ascertaining that she is the daughter of Viśvāmitra, the Kshatriya sage (I-96). Later on we see him learning from Priyamvadā that Śākuntalā will not live the life of a virgin hermitess, but will be given away by Kanva in marriage to a worthy bridegroom (I—109). Then the King finds that Śākuntalā is equally attached to him (III 37). Afterwards he is requested by Priyamvadā to see that Śākuntalā may not die broken hearted (III 82). Śākuntalā and her companions could not have made such a request, had not Gandharva marriage (love wedding) been in vogue at that time. The King bears testimony to this practice when he says (गान्धर्व्वेण अनुमोदिता or अभिनन्दिता, III 119) that the marriages of the daughters of many a royal sage (राजर्षि) have been celebrated according to Gandharva rites and been acclaimed or at least not objected to by their parents. We have

already refused to his chaste regard for the wives of others (भवतु अनिर्वर्णनीय परकलङ्कम्—let her be charming, another man's wife should not be looked at V 47) These prove conclusively that Dushmanta is not an unprincipled libertine. It may be that the Poet himself does not like such hasty marriages, for he says through Gautami (V 63) that when Dushmanta and Sakuntala have married each other secretly without consulting Sakuntala's guardians, they themselves are responsible for the consequences, and also through S'arngarava who says (अतः परीक्ष्य सौहृदम्, (see p 358) that it is desirable that people should be very discreet in making love in solitude and that the ignorance of each other's heart changes love into enmity.

As the case is with Kalidasa's kings so it is with his queens. The second is better than the first and the third than the second. In the *Malavikāgnimitram*, his earliest venture in the province of drama, we become acquainted with two queens, the first Dhṛitī and the second Iravati. Though both of them have good grounds for being dissatisfied with the King's treachery, yet the younger and more beautiful Iravati contrives to spoil the love meetings of the King and Malavika, and in a fit of jealousy and anger so far forgets her position as to threaten her husband with her girdle and to spurn him from her feet. She causes Malavika to be imprisoned with her companion and is angry with the chief queen, who has been all kindness to her and whom she falsely suspects as having released Malavika by means of her ring.

Though she is invited by Dharinī to witness the marriage of the King with Malavikā, she sends a courteous reply, but does not attend the ceremony. In some editions of Kalidasa's *Malavikāgnimitram*, she is described as a woman of a low origin, who is engaged by Dharinī as her attendant, but whose beauty captivates the King and leads him to make her his second queen. Such an interpretation seems to be correct on the ground that she is fond of wine and her manners are not at all refined. But in judging her character, we must not forget her great provocation and also the love she bears for Vasulakshmi, Dharinī's daughter, when being heedless of the King's treachery, she asks him with emotion to hasten to the girl and rescue her from the monkey which has attacked her.

But Dharinī, the chief queen, is a nobler personage. Though she is at first touched by jealousy, which makes her keep Malavikā away from the King's gaze, and which leads her to make some efforts to prevent the production of *Malavikā* on the stage by Ganadāsa, who is contending with Haradatta for supremacy as a teacher of singing and dancing, yet later on she does not like Iravati, stoop to any mean contrivances for preventing the union of the King with Malavikā, which, she finds, has become inevitable. She promises to Malavikā that she will fulfil her wish, if the *Asoka* tree blossoms, for which she asks the female gardener to do everything in her power, for example watering it regularly and erecting a dam, so that water may not escape. She is highly respected by

the King, who addresses her by the title of Devi or goddess. After the Asoka tree has blossomed, she makes arrangements for redeeming her promise to Malavika. Now two items of good tidings increase her delight and magnanimity. One is the conquest of Vidarbha by her brother Virasena, her husband's general, and the second is the still happier news of the defeat by her son Vasumitra of the cavalry of the Yavana or Greek King on the banks of the Sindhu. The high minded queen herself gives Malavika away to the King in marriage. Her question after the marriage to the King—'O Lord ! tell me what more shall I do for your good ?'—is full of suggestion, for which Kalidasa is so celebrated. The question, apparently a harmless one, is ironical in its import. The chief queen, who has served the King so long with the heartiest devotion and love has now given Malavika in marriage to her faithless husband, and shows her readiness for conferring on him more good of a like nature. The King pretends to take the words of Dhārinī in their literal sense and awkwardly wriggles out of a perplexing situation by saying—मम तावदेतावदेव प्रियम्—i.e. this (marriage) has been to me the greatest good, (and nothing more is necessary). It appears that the chief queen, e.g., Dhārinī, can take part in the coronation of the King. Iravatī is addressed as Bhattinī or one who is not crowned along with the King.

We now come to Ausinārī, the chief queen of Vikramorvasī. She like Dhārinī becomes at first

jealous, when she discovers through her female attendant, Nipunikā, from the foolish Vidushaka of the King his faithlessness and his passion for Urvas'ī. An accident enables her to obtain the very letter which the nymph has written on a birch bark to her royal lover. She confronts the faithless King with it and leaves him abruptly, even when he falls at her feet. She then becomes aware of her error, and on the pretext of the performance of a religious vow (vrata) for which the King's presence is necessary, invites him to the roof of the palace to attend the ceremony. Notice her contrast with Iravatī in this respect. Aus'inari, for a much lighter offence, seeks to propitiate the King, but Iravatī is too arrogant to do so, and she can stoop only to tendering her apology to the King's portrait. Even when invited by Dhārini, she declines to attend the ceremony of the King's marriage with Milavikā, and simply communicates her excuse through an attendant. After the vrata is over, Aus'inari gives solemn permission to the King to marry the lady of his heart and retires to her apartments. This magnanimity of the queen and her dignified bearing touch for the time being the heart even of the selfish and passionate Urvas'ī, who exclaims—'This Lady has been addressed (by the King) with the title of Devī or Goddess, this is proper. She is not in the least inferior to S'achi or the queen of Indra in highmindedness and strength of character.' This self-sacrifice on the part of the queen makes her from this moment abstain from doing anything, which may mar the happiness of her lord. Chitralkhā, Urvas'ī's

confidante, says—

“She is a lady
Of an exalted spirit and a wife
Of duty most exemplary You now
May rest assured, nothing will more impede
Your union with your Love”—W

After her solemn making over of her husband to Urvas'ī we find her at the beginning of the fifth act, as stated by the Vidushaka, occupied with her religious duties to which she has dedicated her body and soul

It must be said to the credit of the infatuated King that in his old age when he has found out his son by Urvas'ī, whom he installs as Yuvaraja, and when Indra has allowed Urvas'ī to live with him during his earthly life, he does not forget his devoted queen and thinks of paying respects to her personally with his son A'yus (VV—V—137)

But the queens of Dushmanta are of a still nobler type They in a spirit of sublime magnanimity do not make their appearance at all, and do not in any way interfere with their husband's new amour We become acquainted with the queen Hamsapadikā from a distance through the inimitable and suggestive lyric she sings, in which she pours out the whole of her languishing and loving heart (see p 355) The chief queen Vasumatī wants to come to her husband with an important despatch, which the minister has addressed to him for the urgent settlement of a case of succession to a merchant's estate Though this dutiful consort of the King is eager to remind her lord of his duties as a ruler, yet on second thought that her

presence may cause him some perplexity, she gives up the idea of coming, and sends the minister's letter to him through her female attendant. So we see that with the improvement of the notion of ideal kingship in the mind of the aging dramatist, there is effected also a development of the conception of ideal queenship.

Of the female attendants of the queens, it may be said that they are all clever, witty and devoted to their mistresses. The Vidushakas are the victims of their pranks. Vakulaśālīka suffers imprisonment for Malavika. Nipunika appears to be a mischievous woman, but we must remember that she has to please Iravati, a not commendable sort of person. She might have been altogether a different woman if she had been the attendant of the noble Dharini. Her namesake in Vikramorvasī is equally clever. She cheats the Vidushaka of the secret amour of the King. Though the female attendants appear to be of the same type, the delicate touches of the dramatist differentiate them sufficiently from one another.

Kausīki is devoted to Malavika like her unfortunate brother Sumati, who lays down his life for his master's daughter. She is a widow and an ascetic versed in literature and arts, and a sound critic with considerable tactfulness which prevents her from being recognised even by Malavika and being detected by Dharini, while she has been trying her best to bring about the union of the King with Malavika—the object of her and her lamented brother's mission, though at first against the wishes of her patroness.

Dharini herself

The three Vidushakas possess in common excessive fondness for food and drink and specially, modaka or sweetmeat. They do not relish roasted meat (A S II—1). They are Brahmans of a low origin. They do not spare any one, however his or her position may be. Their jests are never coarse, but are stale and and about hunger and do not show much wit or humour. The Vidushakas have at their disposal maxims and proverbs, which they use on fit occasions. They are devoted to their masters, whose confidants they are, though sometimes for want of commonsense, they do things which embarrass them.

Dushmanta's Vidushaka Madhavya, though his only object is to serve the King faithfully and console him in his affliction, seems to be dull, as otherwise he would not have accepted as gospel truth his master's statement that his eye is not on any girl of the hermitage. He becomes the unfortunate victim of the pretended wrath of Mitali, a clumsy device resorted to by the latter for reminding Dushmanta of his important duties as a ruler. He is however always witty. His remark about Dushmanta's preference of tamarind to dates, when the King thinks of courting Sakuntala, though he has several queens of peerless beauty, his statement that he will in future censure his staff for its crookedness, when the King begins to blame his signet-ring for its leaving Sakuntala's finger, his remark that the encouragement of the overworked King by the heralds is as ineffectual as that of the bull when he is called the lord of the bovine herd,

and his saying that the King will now fill Śakuntalā's beautiful portrait with the ugly bearded figures of hermits, show his power of ready witicism

Pururava's companion, Manavaka, appears to be foolish. He is cheated of the secret amour of the King with Urvas'ī by the clever female attendant of the queen. Again he allows Urvas'ī's letter to the King to fall into the hands of the queen, though he has the presence of mind to say that it has followed Urvas'ī to Paradise. He does not even covet the delights of heaven. Kitchen delicacies are the be all and end all of his life. He makes his own ugliness the butt of others' ridicule. When the King asks his son to salute his friend, Manavaka says that A yus need not fear, because he has seen apes like him in the hermitage.

Gautama, the Vidushaka of Agnimitra is the most intelligent of the three. It is he who provokes a quarrel between Ganadasa and Haradatta, masters of singing and dancing, regarding their superiority, which leads to Ganadasa's producing his pupil, Malavikā before the King and his court. It is he who causes Dhṛinī to fall from the swing and hurt her left foot, which prevents her from touching the Asoka tree with it and makes her ask Malavikā to do so. Though he is so clever he is twice outwitted by Iravatī and her attendant Nipunikā. Gautama brings about a second meeting of the King with Malavikā in the pleasure garden, which is interrupted by Iravatī and which leads to

Malavika's imprisonment from which she is released by means of Dharini's ring being cleverly procured from her by Gautama on his feigning that he has been bitten by a venomous snake. He brings about their third meeting again to be interrupted by the second queen. Only on this occasion, when he has been asked by the King who is with Malavika, to act as a sentinel at the gate of the harbour, his vigilance becomes asleep, because a rich repast and a shady place make him drowsy, and Nipunika, the attendant of Iravati, mischievous like her mistress, startles him from his sleep by throwing his stick on him and making him believe that a real snake has flung itself on him from the tree above. So we find that though the three Vidushakas have some common traits, yet they have been sufficiently differentiated from one another by the Master artist.

Of the three heroines, Malavika, Urvashi, and S'akuntala, Urvashi is the lowest and S'akuntala the noblest and 'beyond compare'. We see the girl Malavika when she is produced before the audience including the King and the chief queen, by Ganadisa who wants to establish, by exhibiting Malavika as a dancer and singer, his superiority to Haradatta, his rival. She is then in the full bloom of her youthful beauty. The King already captivated by her portrait finds the original more ravishing than the copy, and falls desperately in love with her. She is now in the presence of one, whom her brother selected as her future husband. She, who was a princess, has through the vicissitudes of fortune become a female attendant

of the chief queen, who wants to train her in dancing and singing with the help of the artist Ganadāsa and also to keep her away from the King as much as possible She proves an apt pupil, Ganadāsa says—

पाशविशेषे नयस्त गुणान्तरं व्रजति शिल्पम् आधातु ।

जलमिव समुद्रशुक्लौ मुक्ताफलता पयोदसम् ॥ — M. M -I 37

(শিক্ষকের শিল্প শিক্ষা সুপাত্রে হইলে ভ্রান্ত ধরে গুণ কত ।

সাগর শুক্লিতে যথ।, মেঘ জল মুক্তারূপে হয় পরিণত ॥)

—J T

(A teacher's skill to pupils apt applied

Like rain on sea-shells to pearls fructified)

She is all modesty and Ganadāsa asks her to give up nervousness before the audience She like Śākuntalā reveals her heart to the King by means of a charming verse in Prakṛita, the Sanskritised form of which is—

दुर्लभं प्रियं , तस्मिन् भव हृदय निराशम् ,
अहो अपाङ्गको मे परिस्फुरति किमपि वामकम् ।

एष स चिरदृष्ट कथम् उपनेतव्य ,

नाथ मा पराधीना त्वयि गणय सवृज्याम् —M M —II—13

(হর্লভ ব্লভ যৌব,

ছাডো হৃদি ' প্রত্যাশা তাঁহাব ।

নাচে যে গো বামনেত্র—

তবে আশা কব পুনর্ব্বার ।

বহুপূর্ব্বে দেখেছিহু—

পুন যে গো সে মূর্ত্তি নেহাবি ।

পরাবিনী আমি নাথ,

তব জেনো হৃষিতা তোরাবি ॥)—J T

(My heart, despair, my Dailing is too dear ,
But my left eye throbs hence I need not fear
But how to get one after long I see ?
Dependent am but eager thine to be)

We should not ascribe the song to her artfulness, because she is under the idea that this is the only occasion, when she may open her mind in the presence of the King. The King's Vidushaka contrives to bring his master and Malavika together, when the King professes his love for her, who, though actuated by love herself, cannot communicate her feeling to her lover on account of her natural shyness. Just then they are interrupted by the second queen, Iravati, who induces the chief queen to imprison Malavika and her companion Vakulavalika in an underground cell. The Vidushaka dexterously brings about their release and also makes arrangements for a third meeting of the King with Malavika in the portrait gallery, when Malavika becomes jealous on seeing a picture, in which the King is depicted as looking with loving regard at a beautiful woman, who later on proves to be Iravati, though her natural coyness is still evident. She becomes a little bolder and taunts the King with his fear of Iravati. They are again interrupted by the second queen, and are extricated from the delicate situation by a brown ape attacking the little Vasulakshmi, daughter of Dharini. Now the tide turns in her

favour The As'oka tree blossoms, and the chief queen has said that when the tree flowers, Malavika's wish will be gratified Now the news also arrives that the chief queen's brother, Virasena, has defeated the King of Vidarbha The chief queen orders the nun Kausiki to dress Malavika in the best manner for her marriage, to which she invites the King and Iravati Now two artist-girls come to the court and recognise Malavika as the sister of the King of Vidarbha, and Kausiki as the sister of his minister Then another piece of happier news arrives, namely, the victory of Dhṛini's son, Vasumitra, over the Yavanas on the bank of the Sindhu All are highly delighted specially the chief queen Dhṛini, who magnanimously unites Malavika with her royal lover Malavika we have seen, came to the royal capital with the purpose of marrying the King, which she communicated to him on the first opportunity Though superior to Iravati, she is a small figure beside Dhṛini, and we believe that she will not easily, tolerate the presence of any rival as her behaviour in the portrait-gallery has already shown

Urvasī is a heroine of a low order Kālidasa knows this But what can he do? The story of Pururavas and Urvasī is not his own creation It is as old and as sacred as the Rīgveda Urvasī cannot change her nature She is the dancing girl of Indra's court, and cannot divest herself of her selfish and passionate character Her love for Pururavas is, however, sincere, and not in the least feigned She sees the King, and is ravished by his beauty, as he is

by hers. The nature of both is similar. The absorbing passion of love makes the King oblivious of his duties as a ruler and makes the nymph forget her duty as an actress before the assembly of gods for which she is cursed by Bharata. This curse, however, enables her to come down to the earth and dwell with her lover. Sometime after her first meeting with the King, she with her companion Chitrলেখা watches him from a distance both of them remaining invisible. She finds him sincerely attached to her, and writes a letter confessing her love, which he highly appreciates. Here the Dramatist exhibits his deep insight into female character. When Chitrলেখা asks the anxious Urvashi to ascertain what is passing in the mind of her royal lover by means of telepathy, the latter hesitates to do so and says that nothing will pain her more than the knowledge that the King has become attached to some other woman. When she finds that his love is as ardent as hers, she makes herself visible and approaches him with her companion and salutes him with a graceful modesty, but their meeting is interrupted by the message from Indra that she has to play an important part in a drama to be enacted before him.

She again comes down to the roof of the palace with Chitrলেখা, where the King and the chief queen are present, and is moved for the time being by Ausinari's grace, dignity and magnanimity, of which she herself is devoid, but she cannot rise to the height of the occasion and renounce her lover to his worthy consort. She becomes united with the King, to which permission has been solemnly given by the queen, and

persuades him to let his kingdom and his duties alone and spend his honeymoon with her in the most beautiful part of the Himalayas the court of the Goddess of Nature Here another side of her character manifests itself, namely her intense jealousy and frivolity The King looks at a Vidyadhara girl named Udakavati with a loving glance—did she expect the King, who could easily transfer his love to her from his worthy and devoted wife Ausinari, to be constant?—and this trifling incident smites her with jealousy, and she trespasses into sacred grounds in a fit of indignation, and is changed into a creeper, which distracts her lover to the verge of frenzy, and from which condition she is rescued by a gem of a divine origin, which the King finds accidentally They become reunited, and now think of returning to the capital A son named A'yus has been the fruit of their union, but as the sight of A'yus will part the lovers for ever, selfish as she is, she conceals him from the King's gaze The taking of the gem by a vulture, which A'yus kills with his arrow, brings him to the notice of the King, and the parting of the King and the nymph, which has now become inevitable, is prevented by a fresh concession on the part of Indra, who allows Urvas'ī to remain with Pururava during his earthly life It must be said to her credit that she remembers in the last scene the duty which her son owes to the chief queen and she directs him to pay his respects to his elder mother

In *Malavikāgnimitram*, the Poet heightens the character of the stately and noble Dharini by contrasting her with the narrow minded and irreful

Iravati Similarly in his Vikramorvasī, he exalts the character of the broad minded, selfless and dignified Ausinari by contrasting her with the selfish, passionate and frivolous Urvasī But in his Abhijñana Śākuntalam, he is reluctant to disturb the atmosphere of peace, happiness and romantic love, with which the play begins, by introducing any incongruous element, but when it is introduced at Hastināpura by Durvasa's curse, and when the love bond seems to be sundered by an untoward accident, we are made ready by the Poet for a calmer, purer and happier environment, where love begotten of earthly passion being sanctified by suffering is transformed into an emotion "which spirits feel in worlds whose course is equable and pure"

Śākuntalā is indescribable Even an attempt at the delineation of her character and conduct is likely to fill a whole volume We get the first sight of her, when she has been watering her plants with a brotherly love (सौदरस्नेह) which we do not even extend to our fellowmen Kanva bears testimony to her sisterly affection for the Madhavī creeper (A S—IV 104) The female deer and the orphan gazelle are the objects of her affection (A S—IV 10 13) When ever a plant is missed, she draws to it the attention of her companions Anasuya and Priyamvadā She like Umā (K S—V—8, 14 and 15) wears a bark dress and tends trees and deer When the King, who has been watching her graceful movements from a distance and wondering how the sage Kanva can attempt the impossible task of inuring 'this form of artless grace'

—अव्याजमनोहर वपु —to the austerities of a hermitess, presents himself suddenly before her, Sakuntala, who is the incarnation of modesty, becomes nervous and remains silent, though she realises that a feeling, which is inconsistent with the purity of the hermitage, is rising in her mind for the noble guest. When her two companions guess what is passing in her mind, and suggest her marriage with him she shows her anger. When the King praises her heavenly beauty, which is possible only on account of her being the daughter of a celestial nymph, she turns her eyes towards the ground not only for the King's high praise of her charms, but also because she is not proud of being the offspring of the unrighteous union of Visvamisra and Menaka. She cannot stay in the King's presence for long, but before leaving the place she turns her eyes towards him and remains in this attitude for sometime, till she can free her bark dress from the Kuruvaka tree, to which it has attached itself.

Both Sakuntala and the King become love stricken. Sakuntala pines for the King. He for the second time overhears her conversation with her companions from a distance. She after repeated questions reveals the cause of her disorder to her companions who assure her that the King has been similarly affected. She in compliance with their request agrees to write this letter to the King———
(Sanskritised version of Prakṛita)—

तव न जाने हृदय, मम पुनः कामं दिवा अपि रात्रौ अपि ।

निर्घृणं तपति बलीयस्त्वयि वृत्तमनोरथानि अङ्गानि ॥ A. S —III 64

(জানি না হৃদয় তব, মোবে কিন্ত মনোভব,
 অহোরাত্র কবে অঙ্গে অতি তাপ দান হে, অতি তাপ দান ।
 তব হস্তে মনোবথ, নাহি অস্ত্র কোন পথ,
 কল্পণা বিহীন তব কঠিন পবাণ হে—কঠিন পবাণ ॥)—D L Roy
 (I know not if I read your heart aright ,
 Why, pitiless, do you distress me so !
 I only know that longing day and night
 Tosses my restless body to and fro,
 That yearns for you, the source of all its woe)
 —T K R

The King thinking this to be the most opportune moment of presenting himself before his Beloved, advances towards her and says—

তপতি তনুগামি মদনস্বামিন্য মা পুনর্দহতেঽব ।
 গ্লভয়তি যথা শস্যাক্ষ ন তথাহি কুমুদ্রতী দিবস ॥—A S III 66

(Though Love torments you, slender maid,
 Yet he consumes me quite,
 As daylight shuts night-blooming flowers
 And slays the moon outright)—T K R

(কৃশাদি । তোমায় অব, তাপ দেয় নিবস্তব ,
 মোবে কিন্ত অনিবার কবিছে দাহন বে, করিছে দাহন ।
 দিবস বজ্রনী কবে, যথা গ্লানি যুক্ত কবে

কুমুদ্রীবে কতু নাহি কবয়ে তেমন হে—কবয়ে তেমন ॥—(U N M)
 Sakuntala tries to rise for showing respect to the King, but is dissuaded by him Priyamvada tells the King that the God of Love has effected this change in their friend through the King's instrumentality and that it is desirable that he should kindly devise means

for saving her life. The King replies that he is much obliged by the request as both of them have been similarly affected. Sákuntala remarks that it is useless to request the King who has been feeling keenly his separation from the female inmates of his palace. He assures her that though he has many wives, the two, namely, Sákuntala and his kingdom, will enhance the glory of his family. Now Anasuya and Priyamvada leave them alone. The King persuades her to marry him in the Gandharva manner. Then he leaves for his capital promising to take her there in the course of five days. Sákuntala feels her separation sorely. When she is thus occupied, Durvasa, who is in itself, not receiving any reply from her, pronounces the curse, which he later on at the prayer of Anasuya modifies into the following—that her beloved will not be able to recollect her, unless a remembrancer is produced.

We learn from a disciple of Kanva that he has returned from his pilgrimage and has asked his pupil to watch the proper time for his morning-sacrifice. The setting of the moon and the rising of the sun suggest to him the vicissitudes of human fortune—

तेजोद्वयस्य युगपद्वयसनोदयाभया लोको नियम्यत इवात्मदशान्तरेषु

A S—IV—33

‘the simultaneous setting of one luminary and the rising of the other warn men of the changes of their fortune.’ This is significant and forebodes the evil days which await Sákuntala. The disciple’s remark that separation from one’s beloved is very painful, which he bases on the paleness of the lily during the day

when she is separated from her lover—the Moon, implies the poignancy of Sakuntala's desolation (Ibid 34) Kanva comes to know all that have happened from a heavenly voice, and without being angry with his adopted daughter approves of her selection, and asks the inmates to make arrangements for her departure to her husband's palace and requests his sister Gautami and his disciples S'arngarava and Saradvata to escort her there

Sakuntala now realises that she shall have to leave the hermitage, in which she has been brought up, and to every plant and animal of which she has been attached most ardently, and the inmates of which have been her on'y dear and near ones in this world since her childhood. She sheds tears while the parting religious rites are being performed. None is more aggrieved on this occasion than Kanva, but he controls his emotion in a manner worthy of a sage. After S'akuntala has worn the ornaments and cloth given to her through the disciple, Harita, by the trees, as her bark dress and sylvan ornaments are not appropriate to a queen, she prostrates herself before Kanva who blesses her. After she has moved round the sacred fire, Kanva gives her permission to set out on her journey. He turns his eyes in another direction, as they are filled with tears. Now the two disciples come, and are requested to accompany their sister. Then the sage asks the trees and their presiding deities to give permission to Sakuntala, who has long tended the former with the most affectionate care, has never tasted water till she has watered

them, has not cut a single spray even for the sake of her ornament and has felt joy whenever they have blossomed. She says to Priyamvada that though she is eager to see her husband she is feeling acutely the pain of parting from her friends and guardians. Priyamvada replies that Sákuntala is not the only one who feels sad at that farewell and that the whole air-bour feels the pang of separation from her—(Sanskrit sed Prakrita)—

उद्धलितदर्भकवला मृगय परित्यक्तनर्तना मयूरा ।

अपसृतपाण्डुपक्षा मुञ्चन्ति अग्नयि इव लता ॥

A S—IV—102

(The grass drops from the feeding doe ,
The peahen stops her dance,
Pale trembling leaves are falling slow ,
The tears of clinging plants)

—F K R

(তুলী ঢাঙে কুশখাস, মূরী নর্তন ।

লতা পাণ্ডু পক্ষ অগ্নি কবে বিসজ্জন ॥)

She now greets her sister the creeper Mithavi and says to her after embracing her—"Creeper sister, embrace me with your tendrils. From to day we shall be remote from each other." Then turning her eyes to Kanva she says "Papa, look upon these with the same affection, as you have done upon me." Then Priyamvada and Anasuya shed tears, and ask Sákuntala to whom she is going to leave them. Kanva requests them not to cry, as it will increase Sákuntala's grief. But Kanva himself an affection

ate guardian as he is, finds it very difficult to control himself and moves hither and thither to hide his tears. Śakuntalā requests her guardian to inform her when the female deer gives birth to her child, which he promises. Now a baby deer comes to her, and intercepts her going, and touches the lappet of her cloth. She asks Kanva with tears in her eyes to see that the fawn be not neglected as she has brought it up since its infancy, when its mother died. He asks her not to shed tears, as they will prevent her from seeing the ups and downs of the road and make her slip. Then he asks his disciples to convey to the King his touching but at the same time dignified message (see p. 352). He counsels Śakuntalā to obey her seniors in her husband's house, to treat his other wives as dear friends, to be kind to her servants and never to run counter to the wishes of her husband. Kanva now takes final leave and says that Anasuyā and Priyamvadā should not proceed further, as they are of marriageable age. After prostrating herself at her father's feet and embracing Priyamvadā and Anasuyā, who ask her to show the King the signet ring which he put round her finger, in case her husband cannot recognise her, she becomes nervous and being reassured takes her leave with a heavy heart. When Kanva reminds Śakuntalā that it is the time for his religious devotion, she says that he will not miss her, as he will be engrossed by his holy rites, but that she will miss him much. He replies that he seems to be almost paralysed and does not know what to say and that his grief will be in-

tensified by the seedlings which will spring from the seed she has been accustomed to offer as a sacrifice at the cottage-door. Then he bids her good bye.

After Śākuntalā has left, Kanva consoles Pravāsa and Anasura and says that he is himself again after sending Śākuntalā to her husband's home for—

अर्थी इवान्तरात्मा (A S—IV—151 See P 354)

The loving kindness of the inmates of the hermitage towards Śākuntalā is contrasted by Kūṇḍīśa with her cruel reception by her husband at Hastinapura.

When Śarṅgarava and Gautamī present Śākuntalā to Dushmanta at Hastinapura and ask him to accept her as his wife, he says that their statement appears to him like fiction. Śākuntalā now finds that her worst fear has become real. When the King says to Śarṅgarava that it is wrong for them to make such an unrighteous proposal, the latter indignantly retorts that wealth and power have distracted the mind of the King. Śākuntalā removes her veil at the request of Gautamī, but the King, though struck by her beauty, is unable to recognise her. Her despair now knows no bounds. Śarṅgarava becomes incensed at the behaviour of Dushmanta, whom he likens to a thief, to whom Kanva has condescended to give the stolen property. Saradvatā dissuades Śarṅgarava from using hard words to the King and asks Śākuntalā to produce something as an evidence of her marriage. She seeks the ring, but it cannot be found. It has slipped into the Ganges, as Gautamī says, during her bath at S'achitirtha. Though Śākuntalā reminds him

of an incident of the hermitage—the coming of the baby deer to her for water, its declining to take it from his hands but its readily drinking it from hers—he is unable to remember it. He uses some hard words regarding her artfulness, but she though excited, gives a dignified reply and finding her case hopeless begins to shed tears. Though Gautami is inclined to take the weeping and following Śākuntalā back with her, she is dissuaded by Śūrngarava from doing so. Now the priest of the King takes charge of her who is in the depths of despair but a bright nymph comes down from the sky and takes her away. We meet Sakuntalā again at the peaceful hermitage of Mṛṇal on the Himalayas after her child has been born and after Dushmanta has got back his ring, which has reminded him of all the incidents of his marriage and has filled him with deep remorse and keen longing for the wife he has treated so ignobly, though unwittingly. The King falls at the feet of Śākuntalā who readily forgives him, and they are reunited. After receiving the blessing of Maricha and his wife, the parents of gods, and after being assured that the news of their reunion and the fact that Dushmanta's forgetfulness was due to Durvasa's curse, will be communicated to Kāśya, they return with their child to their capital in Indra's chariot.

From what has been stated above, some of the prominent traits of Śākuntalā present themselves to our mind's eye. Her innocence, her simplicity, her deep sympathy with animate and inanimate nature,

her love for her companions, her respect for Gautami, the sister of her adoptive father her devotion to him, her love for her husband, her beauty and dignity, her self control, both when she pines with love and also when she is flouted by her husband, her ready forgiveness of her husband who has treated her in an ignoble manner, above all her graceful modesty and bashfulness in all her movements, specially when after their reunion she says to her husband that she feels it delicate to go to her reverend seniors in his company, are depicted with a skill which excites our admiration. A deep insight into female character is exhibited by the Poet in Śākuntala's refusal to wear the untrustworthy ring, even when she is asked by the King to do so after their reunion.

Mr. Ryder thus concludes his sketch of the heroine's character—"So noble a union of sweetness with strength is one of the miracles of art because this is a most perfect beauty of soul, no less than of outward form. Her character grows under our very eyes. When we first meet her, she is a simple maiden, knowing no greater sorrow than the death of a favourite deer, when we bid her farewell, she has passed through happy love, the mother's joys and pains the most cruel humiliation and suspicion and the reunion with her husband proved at last not to have been unworthy. And each of these great experiences has been met with a courage and a sweetness to which no words can render justice"¹

The late Mr D L Roy in his admirable critique 'Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti,' after saying that Kalidasa has purified the lustful Śākuntalā of the Mahābhārata to a considerable extent, remarks that he has begun Śākuntalā as a common lover (प्रेमिका) and has ended her as a goddess (देवी). But the critic at the same time has brought the following charges against her—her duplicity with her companions, her unblushing love making with the King in solitude, her insinuation against her future co-wives, and her marrying Dushmanta without her guardian's permission, which, the critic remarks, is almost the last stage of her downfall. The critic seems to be inconsistent regarding at least some of his accusations. When Śākuntalā, out of her natural modesty, tries to conceal her love, which she has characterised as inconsistent with the hermitage (तपोवनविरुद्ध) the critic calls it duplicity, and when she pours out her heart to the King, he condemns it as unblushing. Let us examine the charges *seriatim*. When for example Anasūya and Priyamvadā, noticing that Dushmanta and Śākuntalā have been attracted towards each other, remark that if Kanva had been present, he would have gratified his guest with even what he deems precious like his life (meaning of course his adopted daughter), Śākuntalā pretends anger (I—89 and 90). Would the critic commend her answering her companions in the affirmative? If this be duplicity, it is at least something to which the best living girl is liable. We must remember also that she is trying to control her emotion though it has been becoming stronger and

stronger. It is not Śakuntalā who unblushingly communicates to the King her love which has been consuming her heart but it is her companions who make her do so. Only then she makes her confession and says that *if they agree* they may try to make her the object of his kindness (III—41). When they ask her to compose a love-letter, she still hesitates (my heart quakes—वेपते मे हृदयम्—III—53). She is then joined by the King. Her companions leave her against her wish. She is very unwilling that the King should take any liberty with her before her marriage. She knows well that her father Kanva has been seeking a worthy bridegroom. Who can be worthier than Dushmanta? She is aware and Dushmanta has assured her that there can be no objection to a gandharva marriage and that several such marriages have actually taken place (III—118 to 120). We are informed by Anasuyā (IV—1) that Śakuntalā has been married to Dushmanta with gandharva rites, of course, in the presence of Anasuyā and Pūyamvadā. She is to blame to some extent for marrying the King in her father's absence, but in this her companions and specially the King are more guilty than she. As regards her insinuation that it is useless to tell the King anything as he has been feeling much his separation from his queens (III—84), we should bear in mind that when their attachment to each other has been known and when the proposal for marriage is going to be made by her companions, it is necessary for her to ascertain how she is likely to be treated when the King returns with her to his

palace Otherwise she would have been accused of marrying indiscreetly and in hot haste

In the delineation of the scene in the hermitage on the occasion of Śākuntalā's leaving for her husband's capital the Poet's highest powers have been displayed There is no description in the whole realm of literature, so far as we know, which surpasses it in pathos, in beauty and in sympathy with nature and man

Both Anasuyā and Priyamvadā are devoted to Śākuntalā No jealousy, no anger, finds any place in their hearts in their dealings with Śākuntalā who is more than a sister to them They are as old as Śākuntalā, and will be soon given away by Kanva in marriage to suitable bridegrooms Priyamvadā is distinguished from Anasuyā by her sparkling wit, readier conversational power and greater quickness of perception The chief characteristic of both is their profound sympathy for Śākuntalā They are always ready to share her grief **स्निग्धजनसविभक्त हि दुःख सहयतेन भवति**—(A S —III—33)—‘When grief is shared by beloved ones, it becomes endurable’ The King also bears testimony to their great sympathy for Śākuntalā in her happiness and misery (A S —III—34) They are as selfless as Chitrālekṣhā, Urvasī's companion in Vikramorvasī Nothing that may grieve Śākuntalā or aggravate her sorrow—for example the curse of Durvāsā—they will communicate to her Priyamvadā acquiesces in Anasuyā's suggestion and says, Who is so heartless as will pour hot water on the smiling navamallikā flower—(A S -IV 31)? Their parting from her, in whom all their youthful affection

is concentrated, is one of the most touching chapters in the whole volume of literature

The part played by Sákuntalī's mother, Menakī, should not be ignored. The dramatist does not produce her before us for obvious reasons, the chief of which is her illicit union with Vis'vámitra. When Sákuntalī is in the depths of despair at Hastinapura, she takes her away to the hermitage of Maricha. She sends her intimate friend Sānumatī or Mis'akesī to watch Dushmanta's attitude after his disownment of Sákuntalī, who is consoled by the news of the King's constancy towards her and of the intensity of his remorse for his past conduct. Mis'akesī also prepares us for what follows (A S VI 184). It is probably on account of Menakī's entreaty that Indra sends Mātali down to Hastinapura for requesting Dushmanta to come up to Paradise to fight with his enemy and later on to visit the hermitage of Maricha, where Sakuntalī has been residing with her child Sarvadamana.

S'ringarava and S'iradvata, both are devoted to their preceptor. But S'iradvata has more patience than his friend, whose honest heart is filled with righteous indignation, whenever a wrong is done. S'iradvata is a man of few words and keeps himself in the background, while S'ringarava takes the lead and becomes the spokesman of the party. Though he communicates his mission to the King with tact and politeness, Dushmanta's conduct makes him change his tone and manner, and his answers become haughty, though dignified.

Kanva and his virtuous and staid sister Gautamī,

who acts as the 'mation or superior of the female part of the society of hermits,' are fit to be the guardians of the inimitable Śākuntalā and deserve her respect, affection and devotion. Kanya's piety, his selfless ness, his self control—he shows no irritation though Śākuntalā has married without his permission—his profound sense of duty which inspite of the keenness of the agony of separation makes him feel delight for his being able to confide Śākuntalā—a pledged thing—to her husband his love for his disciples and wards, specially for his adopted daughter that knows no bounds, make him an ideal man. He is the best of Kālidāsa's male creations, higher than his Dilipa, Raghu and Rama in his Raghuvamsam and higher than Shakespeare's Prospero in his Tempest.

As Sanskrit Kāvya attains its highest development in Kālidāsa's Raghuvamsam, so Sanskrit Drama does in his Abhijnana-Sakuntalam, the eulogy on which by the greatest German Dramatist, though repeated for the hundredth time, will repay perusal—

'Willst du die Blüthe des frühen, die Frucht des
späteren Jahres,
Willst du was reizt und entzückt, willst du was
sättigt und nährt,
Willst du den Himmel die Erde mit einem Namen
begreifen
Nenn' ich Sakuntalā, Dich, und so ist Alles gesagt."
—Goethe

(Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and fruits
of its decline,

And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured
feasted, fed,
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one
sole name combine,
I name thee, O Sakuntal !' and all at once is said).

—E. B. Eastwick



Chapter VIII.

The Condition of the Hindu Society in the time of Ka'lida'sa

*'Man seeketh in Society comfort, use and
protection —Bacon*

The Poet's accurate observation of the men and things around him, the results of which he has embodied in his works, enables us to obtain valuable information about the time in which he lived

Though imperial sovereignty is indicated by Dilipa's एकातपन्न जगत प्रभुत्व (R V II 47) and Nishadha's reigning over एकातपन्ना भुव (R V XVIII 4), yet autocracy was not the rule but an exception in medieval India Tribal republics like Utsavasamuktas are mentioned in connexion with Raghu's conquests (R V-IV 78) Dilipa levies taxes from his subjects only for their welfare, as the sun takes moisture from the earth only to pour it a thousandfold (in the shape of rain) at some other time (R V I 18, see p 254) He is the real father of his people for his educating, feeding and protecting them Their fathers have simply given them birth—

प्रजानां विनयाधानादक्षणाद्भ्रं रणादपि ।

स पिता, पितरस्तासा केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥—Ibid—24

The full meaning of the term rājan or King has

been realised during Raghus rule, whose sole object is to promote the wellbeing of his subjects—तथैव सोमूदन्वयो राजा प्रकृतरक्षणात् (R V IV-12) Atithi directs his attention to the removal of the ignorance of his subjects by the promulgation of truths—तत्त्वार्थेन नुदस्वाम (R V XVIII 74)

Dushmanta disregarding his own pleasure subjects himself to pain for the happiness of his subjects—स्वसुखनिरभिलाषं खिद्यसे लोकहेतो (A S I-8) The important duties of a King (Dushmanta) are stated by the herald thus—

नियमयसि विभागप्रस्थितानात्तदण्ड ,

प्रशमयसि विवादं कल्पसे रक्षणाय ।

अतनुषु विभवेषु ज्ञातय सविभक्ता-

स्त्वयि तु परिसमाप्तं बन्धुकृत्य जनानाम्—(A S I —9)

(Thou preventest thy subjects with thy sceptre from going astray, protectest them by settling their quarrels, and actest as the best friend of the rich by justly dividing their wealth among their heirs after their death)

Ramachandra is an ideal King. He banishes even his innocent and devoted wife for pleasing his subjects. He is really the father and also the son of his people—

तेनार्थवान् लोभपराङ्मुखेन, तेन भ्रता विघ्नभयं क्रियावान् ।

तेनासं लोकं पितृमान् विनेक्षा, तेनैव शोकापनुदेन पुत्री ॥

R V —XIV —23

(As he is averse to greed, his subjects become rich, as he dispels the fear of obstacles, they perform scrupulously their religious rites, as he teaches them

morals, he becomes their father and as he removes their grief, he acts as their son)

The prosperity of the people was due not only to good administration but also to the great productivity of the soil (as in the time of Das'aratha—R V IX-4). There was consequent increase of population (as in the time of Atithi—R V XVII 41). It appears that food-crops were more than sufficient in the time of the Poet Megasthenes also bears testimony to the absence of famines in India "There has never been a general scarcity in the supply of food"¹ The Greek writer adds that the inhabitants of India almost always gather two harvests annually. He also refers to the abundance of fruits and of esculent roots and to the fact that as the husbandman is regarded by belligerents as sacred and inviolable, agriculture goes on unmolested, while a war is being waged.²

Atithi daily consults his council of ministers—
मन्त्र प्रतिदिन तस्य बभूव सह मन्त्रिभिः—(R V—XVII-50). He decides civil cases in consultation with his ministers (R V XVII 39). The ministers of the King were generally Brahmans to whom the work of administration was entrusted by the King during his absence, as is done by Dilipa when he leaves for the forest (R V I 34), by Kus'a when he leaves Kusavatī for Ayodhya (R V XVI 25) and by Dushmanta, when he leaves for Indra's palace—(A S VI 233 and 234). Even when the work of administration was carried on by ministers during the King's illness, it was super-

1 M A I—p 81

2 Ibid—PP 31 32

vised by a king like Dushmanta, who asks his ministers to write to him about the business transacted (A S—VI 38) Das'aratha goes a hunting, only when he is permitted by his ministers to do so—सचिवै अनुमत (सन्) ययौ (R V—IX—49) The King never initiated any important measure without the consent of his chief minister or of his council of ministers Agnimitra decides upon sending an army under Virasena against Yajnasena, the King of Vidarba (Bera), only after his chief minister has agreed to the proposal (M VI I 46 and 47) Again when Yajnasena has been defeated, the King submits his proposal for dividing Vidarbha between Yajnasena and Madhavasena to his council of ministers (मन्त्रिपरिषत्) of which the chief minister is President and only when their consent is obtained, he asks the cabinet to write to the general Virasena to that effect (M VI V 107 to 114)

When a despatch or present would be received by a Viceroy from his master or by a son from his father, the Viceroy or son would rise from his seat and take the letter or present with due obeisance When the uttariya (scarf) and letter from Pushpamitra (Pushyamitra) reach Agnimitra, his son and Viceroy at Vidisha, the latter takes them most respectfully (M M—V—116)

A King like Atithi would show himself to his subjects every day, as his sight would remove their sins (दूरित दृग्नेन हन्—R V—\VII—74)

When a King transferred his capital to a new place, he furnished his officials with quarters according to their rank (R V—\VI—40)

It was necessary on the death of a king that another should immediately succeed him. Otherwise there would be anarchy. So when Dasaratha dies as no prince is near at hand, the ministers suppress the news of his demise till the arrival of Bharata (R V—XII—12). This is also the reason why Agni varna's fatal illness and death are concealed till suitable arrangements for administration can be made. The news of the decease of the king is given out together with that of the Chief Queen's being with child and with the information that she has been appointed regent by the assembly of ministers and citizens (R V XIX—52 to 55).

Information was collected through spies, a large number of whom were employed (R V—XVII—40 and 51) सामदानभेदनिग्रहा that is, peace making, bribing, the policy of divide and rule and punishment or war were the four political expedients of Kings (R V—XI—55).

Kings received proper education in Sastras and Fine Arts—Dushmanta is an adroit punter—and were married when they reached marriageable age. Kings and Queens were inquisitive about the objects which were around them. Dilipa and his queen Sudakshina ask the milkmen who have come to sell fresh ghee (हैयङ्गवीन) about the names of the trees of the forest along their route (R V—I—45). Svayamvara and Gandharva marriage were in vogue among the Kshatriyas. The Gandharva marriage was a much simpler affair than Brahmanivaha (see below) celebrated between Siva and Gauri described in the Kumarasambhava. In the former the love between

the bridegroom and bride as between Agnimitra and Malavikā and between Dushmanta and Sakuntalā was the chief thing. One (eg Dharinī—M M—V—138) proffered formally the bride to the bridegroom, after she had been properly dressed and ornamented and covered her face with the veil cloth (अवगुण्ठन-वसन—M M—V—144) whom the bridegroom accepted (M M—V—147). As the king was much married, the existing queens, as the plays show, became jealous of the new comer. The chief queen was highly respected and was addressed as Devī or goddess by all including the King himself. The term 'Devī' was applied to all princesses and queens (M M—V—141 and 142). Sometimes it was confined to the chief queen. Gautamī blesses Śākuntalā by saying that she may gain great honour by being addressed as Devī by her husband (A S—IV—59). Irāvati is addressed as Bhattinī by her maidservant Nipunikā (M M—III—70, 72). Bhattinī was a queen who did not take part in the coronation. The King was seldom discourteous to his wives. Even the insolent queen Irāvati is treated by her husband, Agnimitra, with consideration. Though the King had many wives he was otherwise chaste. Dushmanta declines to accept Sakuntalā, as he believes her to be another man's wife (A S V—83 and 119).

Rich men, it appears, had generally more wives than one. Dushmanta says (A S—VI—158) that as the merchant, Dhanavridhī or Dhanamitra, who was drowned when his boat sank was very wealthy, it is probable that he had many wives. As in those

days kings and rich men had geneally several wives, constancy in love among males was a thing almost unknown Domestic peace and happiness were embittered by the jealousies of rival wives as the plays show Women were praised if they loved their husbands inspite of the presence of co wives

—प्रतिपक्षेणापि पति सेवन्ते मर्त्तुं वत्सला साध्वय (M M —V 150)

Kings were always ready to meet their enemy on the field of battle But when their foes were defeated, they restored the submissive to their kingdoms like Raghu, Atithi and Agnimitra (R V XVII 42 &c) They set out like Raghu on their expeditions in Autumn, when the rains were over (R V IV 14, 15 and 24) Raghu sets out on his expedition after making arrangements for the protection of his capital and frontier fortresses. (R V —IV—26) Their chief weapons were bows and arrows, clubs, swords and spears Names were written on arrows (K S —III—27, R V —VII—38, V V —V—30) They had armours even for their hands (हस्तावरक—A S VII 209) Horses had also armour (R V —IV—56) Princes wore helmets (R V —VII—62) Chariots elephants and horses were utilised in a fight which was decided more by the prowess of the general than by that of the mass of the army There were expert drivers of chariots (R V —I—17) It appears that Indian military tactics had not undergone much change since the time of Alexander's invasion of India in 326-325 B C Alexander wrote that besides infantry Poros had war-chariots, cavalry and elephants, and he bore testimony to the extra-

ordinary intelligence of the elephant which carried Poros for it knee'd quickly and, extracted darts from the body of the wounded King¹ The Bengalees fought on boats with their enemy (R V—IV—3b) Streams were crossed by an advancing army by means of temporary bridges formed with elephants standing side by side, as was done by Raghu, when he crossed the Kapisā (R V—IV—3c) and by Kusā when he crossed the Ganges on his way to Ajodhya (R V—XVI—33) Soldiers were fond of wine (R V—IV—42, 65) When the enemy was subjugated it was said that the conqueror planted his left foot on the enemy's head (R V—VII—70) Skandagupta also used the expression—*क्षितिचरणपीडे ह्यापितो वामपाद*² (see also p 126) Dissatisfied princes at a svayamvara ceremony generally waged war with the fortunate winner of the bride as do the princes who fight with Aja, after their unsuccessful wooing of Indumati (R V—VII) The defeated King delivered to the conqueror jewels, chariots, artisans and girls (M M—V—9)

When Kings left their capitals, they were provided by the people with tents and various presents so that they might not be put to any inconvenience during their journey (R V—V—41)

Kings were fond of hunting not only for pleasure, but also because it was a healthy exercise and was calculated to reduce fat and to enable one to shoot

1 Mc Crindle's *Invasion of India* by Alexander p 308

2 C I—13

(published by A Constable & Co)

moving targets (R V -IX-49, A S II 30) Dushmanta is accompanied by Yavanis (Greek or Persian women) who are armed with bows and arrows and decked with garlands of wild flowers (A S -II-1) Huntsmen tried to attract deer by means of songs (M M -III-151). Kindness was sometimes shown to the animals hunted (R V -IX-57, 58, 67) Various kinds of deer, boars, wild buffaloes, rhinoceroses, tigers and lions were killed. Though they killed deer and other animals in the course of the chase, they were kind to horses and cows (R V I-54, II-1 &c. Dasáratha rides a horse while hunting in the forest (R V -IX-76)

But they always took care that their hunting or progress might not disturb the peace of the hermitage (R V -I 37 and A S -I- 126) The sylvan abode of hermits was the centre of intellectual and spiritual culture and of peace and contentment. The hermitages of Vasísthā, Kanva, Umā, Valmiki and Maricha are described by the Poet with his inimitable skill. There are breezes redolent with sála resin (the pine also exudes a fragrant gum—M D II— 46) and pollens of a thousand lotus and other flowers. peacocks with their beautiful feathers, unruffled gazelles with their large eyes, and plants loved as children by the wives and daughters of sages and odorous smoke rising from sacrifices offered, and hymns chanted by pious hermits. The life of a hermit was an illustration of the noble principle of plain living and high thinking. His loin cloth was made of bark, he subsisted on coarse nivāra rice and the fruits of the forest, and he used ingudi (probably Mahua) oil and he lived in a

hut covered with leaves But his speculations soared to the highest heavens and solved the most profound problems of human existence Demons like Maricha and Suvahu were the foes of hermits (R V—XI 26, 27, A S—Act III—181 and 182) whom a good king should kill Wild animals and sometimes country cattle (R V—V—9), storm and forest fire (R V—V—6) did much harm to the hermitage But its inmates were forbidden to kill any living creature Ayus' killing of the vulture which has been carrying away Pururava's gem (V V—V 51) and Sarvadamana's worrying of the lion cub (A S VII 74) are inconsistent with the peace and sacredness of the hermitage Dushmanta is dissuaded by Vaikhanasa from shooting a deer of the hermitage—आर्चक्षणाय ते शस्त्रं न ग्रहमर्षुर्मुनागसि (A S I—15)—'Your weapon is for protecting the distressed and not for striking the innocent'

The Kings of Kalidasa were upholders of Varnasrama, that is, they saw that the rights and duties of the four castes and four stages of human life were not in anyway interfered with Raghu is described as the Guru or the guide or controller of Varnasrama—R V—V—19) Rama is described as always 'awake' in his supervision of Varnasrama (वर्णाश्रमावेक्षणजागरूक—XIV—67, 85) Atithi is the protector of the Varnas and Asramas (R V XVII-65) In Dushmanta's realm ever the worst member of a caste does not stray from the prescribed path (A S V 37) Dushmanta's priest describes him as वर्णाश्रमाणा रक्षिता—the protector of varnas or castes and asramas or prescribed stages of life (A S V 42)

Though women could speak freely with men, yet only the Brahmans, who acted as [kanchukis or Chamberlains, Vidushakas who were also Br hmans, though of a low order (Brahmabandhu-M M IV 162, and V V II 2), and men noted for their good character and conduct (KS VII 73) had access to the inner apartments of the palace Kanchukis generally were enfeebled by old age and compelled by poverty to earn their livelihood by carrying the errands not only of kings but also of queens, which they did not like (V V III 15) Dushmanta's kanchuki is so old that he cannot remember things and steadies himself with a canestick (AS V 104) The vision of Pururava's kanchuki has been impaired by old age (V V —V—25) Kanchukis as distinguished from Vidushakas, who used Pr krit, were learned and conversed in Sanskrit

Even the gardener in the royal zenana was a female like Udyana palika Madhukarika (M M V 1) Female attendants like Nipunika and Vakulvalika were very clever and witty, as the three plays of Kalidasa show "The shrewdness of the heroine's confidantes never seems to fail them under the most trying circumstances, while their sly jokes and innuendoes, their love of fun, their girlish sympathy with the progress of the love affair, their warm affection for their friend (or mistress) heighten the interest of the plot and contribute not a little to vary its monotony" ¹ Nipunika is versed in music (V V -II 3), Parabhratika, Madhukarika and Medhavinī, female

attendants, are asked to help Dushmanta in painting the portrait of Śakuntalā (A S—VI-19 and 46) A female warder like Sunandā was acquainted with the deeds and genealogies of kings and was eloquent like a male (R V VI 20) Sunandā indulges in a harmless jest with the Princess Indumatī (R V VI 82) Even in female apartments kings were shown their way by servants, for example, Pururavā asks his Vidushakā to show him the way to the roof of the palace of gems तदादेशाय मणिहर्मनप्रदस्य मार्गम् (V V —III 22) Dushmanta asks the female warder Vetravatī (lit cane holdress) to show him the way to the sacred fire chamber (A S Act V 31) So Jayasenā shows Agnimitra the way to the room where the chief queen is bed ridden with her bruised foot (M M — IV 33) At night the king was escorted in the zenāna by female attendants who almost surrounded him with lamps in their hands (V V Act III 15) It cannot be said that the king was ignorant of the route Either the pomp and circumstance of royalty demanded that the king should always be preceded by a servant or this was a salutary precaution against the attack of a hidden foe This is supported by the statement of the kanchukī (A S—VI-37) to Dushmanta that the pleasure grounds have been thoroughly examined (महाराज ! प्रत्यवेक्षिता प्रमदवनभूमयः) ।

On the occasion of an interview with the King, a present had to be given Sugrīva, Vibhishana and others give Rama presents, when they come to Ayodhya during the As'vamedha ceremony (R V —XV 58) Queens also received such presents Samahitika presents Vijapura (limes or pomegranates) to Dharini

(M M III-4) and the Vidushaka pretends that he was bitten by a viper when he was gathering flowers for the chief queen (M M IV 46)

Vidushakas, who were the constant companions of kings, were the butts of the pranks of maid servants for their ugliness and want of commonsense and were sometimes beaten by them, after they had caught hold of the tufts of hair on their heads (A S Act V 22) The blunders of Pururava's Vidushaka only serve 'to augment his difficulties and occasion many an awkward dilemma' The Vidushaka of Agnimitra is the cleverest of all the members of his class The jests of these court fools, though generally stale and about sweetmeat—even the rising moon was a modaka to them (V V III 26)—and other presents (V V II 24, 164, 166 and III 50, 123), were sometimes witty Sikharinī, rasala, syrup, s'arkara and parpatī (V V II 24 and III 50) were the different kinds of sweetmeat in those days Dushmanta's Vidushaka does not like roasted meat (शुल्य मास—A S II—1) A few witticisms of these court jesters are given below—When Ausinai, the queen of Pururava, solemnly gives permission to her husband to marry his sweetheart, the Vidushaka says (aside) that when a victim escapes from one whose hands are mutilated, the latter may well say—"Go, this act will increase my religious merit" (V V III 96) When Dushmanta tells his Vidushaka that he has become enamoured of a girl of the hermitage the latter remarks that as a man satiated with sweet delicacies (dates) longs for acid tamarind as a variety, so the king now longs for a rustic

naiden though he has several beautiful queens at his palace (A S —II 50) Vidushakas acted as their master's private secretaries and were always faithful to them as female attendants like Nipunikā and Vākulavalikā were their mistresses' confidantes. They were not educated. Gautama confesses his ignorance. He tells Iravatī that if he were versed in Politics, he would not condescend to become the King's jester (M M IV 184). The Vidushaka of Pururavī does not aspire even after the joys of Paradise, because the people there having nothing to eat and drink simply look at things with fixed eyes like fishes (V V III 123). Here is a reference to the belief that gods do neither wink nor shut their eyes. Vidushakas and Kanchukis, who were Brahmins, were given presents on the occasion of religious ceremonies, for example, Ausinai's Pīyaprasadana Viata (V V III 87 and 89).

Vaitalikas (bards and heralds), who were generally boys, sang the eulogies of kings and princes in the morning to wake them up and incidentally to remind them of their duties (R V V 66 to 74), encouraged them when they were down hearted (A S V 8 to 10) and reminded of their duties at prescribed times (M M II 46, V V II 13). Their Sanskrit verses, most of which breathe the spirit of true poetry, indicate their learning and culture. Generally two were present one chanted his verses after the other. It appears that Vaitalikas, Kanchukis and even charioteers were versed in Sanskrit. The functions of Sutas (R V V 65) and of Bandis (R V -IX—71 and XVII—15) seem to be similar to those of Vaitalikas. What Vaitalikas do on

the occasion of the investiture of A'vus (V V V 133 and 134) is done by Bandis during the inauguration of Atithi (R V -XVII-15)

A good King had to be a hard worker —अथवा कुलो विश्रामो लोकपालानाम् (A S -V 6) Even sorrow or distraction would not prevent a ruler like Dushmanta from attending to the work of administration (A S VI 38) His day was divided into eight parts, each of which was equal to $3\frac{3}{4}$ dandas or $\frac{1}{2}$ prahara or $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours He stopped work in the sixth part of the day, i.e., if the day began at 6 A M, he would rest from 1 30 P M to 3 P M (V V II-13) Dushmanta has to adjudge a complicated case of succession, even when he is overwhelmed with sorrow for his unwitting rejection of Sakuntala (A S VI 157) Ministers sent despatches to the King even when he was in the Zenana (A S VI 154)

The administration of the Police Department was not at all satisfactory As soon as the alleged offender was arrested, he was thrashed by policemen, by means of which they tried to extort confession They were as impatient as their successors to establish the guilt of the accused and had to be kept in check by their superior officer The Superintendent of Police asks one of the constables not to interrupt the fisherman accused of stealing Dushmanta's ring, but to allow him to proceed slowly (A S Prelude to Act VI 6) Even when he was acquitted by the King, who tried criminal cases as well, and ordered by him to be rewarded, he had to give one half of his reward to all the policemen for wine (A S -Prelude to Act VI-37) The King's brother-in-law (शत्रुघ्न) was generally the

Superintendent of Police (Ibid) But sometimes the Kings brother-in law, when he was really competent, was appointed to even higher posts Virasena, Agnimitra's brother-in-law, is appointed to be the general of the forces, which are to operate against the King of Vidarbha whom he is able to conquer (M V I 44) Yajnasena, the King of Vidarbha refers to the appointment of his brother in law as the Prime-Minister (M V —I 13) As at present, the guilt of a thief was established when he was detected with the stolen property so the Vidushaka tells Pururavi when Urvashi's letter falls into Ausinani's hands (V V-II 161) When part of a thing was proved in a court of justice to belong to person, the thief was made to restore the whole to the owner So Pururavi asks the swans who seems to have stolen Urvashi's gait to restore Urvashi (V V —IV 51) Robbery was uncommon in those days Only the *name* लूकरीया or robbery exists in Dilipa's time (R V —I—27) and even the Wind does not dare stretch his hand to rob anything (VI—75) Merchants travel at ease over mountains, forests and rivers in the time of Atithi (R V -XVII 64) Fahien, the Chinese Traveller, bears testimony to the absence of robbery in the Gupta Empire When robbery was proved, the criminal was impaled (A S Prelude to Act VI—30) A highway robbery is referred to in Malavikagnimitram in which the robbers wear disguises of peacock feathers Probably they are aborigines For fear of robbers merchants travelled in caravans escorted by soldiers at least from Vidarbha to Vidisha (M M —V—90)

Underground cells were used both as treasures and prisons, and prisoners were fettered (M M—IV—20 and 22) Treasure chests were sealed with shellac (M M—V—1) Similar seals and seal-dies are being exhibited in a showcase in the Sarnath Museum

Silence was enjoined as now by pressing a finger on one's lips, as Nandi does in the arbour of Śīva's yoga meditation (K S—III—41), Children prostrated themselves at the feet of their parents before setting out on a journey (R V—X-4 and 7) Friends greeted each other by touching hands So do Chitraratha and Puruṣa (V V I—72) The host accompanied his guest for three days during the latter's return journey The King of Vīdarbha returns home after staying with Aja for three nights (R V V II 33) So does Janaka with Daśāratha after Rama's marriage (R V—XI—57) Kings and victors were welcomed on their return to the capital with ornamental gates, cleansed streets, music and fried paddy (R V—XIV—10, XV-38) When Dilipa returns home with his Queen after spending some time in Vasīshtha's hermitage, the capital is adorned with raised flags (पुरमुत्पताक) and he is greeted by the citizens with an address or song of welcome (पौरैरभिन्दमान—R V—II—74) On auspicious occasions, (for example when Raghu sets out on his memorable expedition—R V—IV—27) fried paddy was showered on the head by elderly women Prisoners were released and capital sentences remitted on the accession of a king and on the birth of his son (R V—III-20, XVI-19) Even beasts of

burden were unyoked, the milling of cows was stopped and parrots were released on such occasions (R V -XVII-19 & 20)

Kings were noted for their regular performance of religious rites (V V -I 9 and A S -II 1 and 103) They generally abdicated their thrones in their old age and retired to the forest and lived like ascetics and died by starvation or drowning (R V -XII-20) Those who like Raghu died in the course of yoga meditation, were not cremated (R V -VIII 25) Water was poured on the ashes after cremation (K S -IV 37) Kumud-vatī, wife of Kusā burns herself on the funeral pyre on the demise of her husband (R V -XVII-6) That the rite of the Sati or a woman's burning herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband was a custom in the Poet's time is evident from the verse शशिना विचेतनैरपि' (K S -IV-33, see p 223), where he says through Ratī प्रमदा पतिवर्त्मगा इति i.e., women usually follow their husbands It appears that the Poet did not approve of the practice, for he says (R V -VIII-72) that Aja abstains from burning himself on the funeral pyre of his beloved wife for fear of the stigma that even a learned man like him has been capable of committing suicide Again in stanza 85 of the same canto we find the Poet suggesting through Vasīshtha's disciple to Aja that dying along with one's consort does not ensure their reunion in the next world, for departed souls take different paths according to their deeds

Ideal kingship with its various virtues—truthfulness, generosity, impartial administration of justice,

piety, valor &c—is feelingly described by the Poet in the 6th, 7th and 8th verses of the first canto of Raghuvamśa (See p 101) Dilipa is ready to become the victim of a lion for the protection of the cow entrusted to him. All the kings specially Raghu, Aja, Rama and Atithi are famous for their filial devotion. The Poet warns princes against moral degradation through Agnivaina whose premature death is brought about by his excessive sensual indulgence (R V —XIX). Here may be a reference to the moral deterioration of some of the scions of the Gupta Dynasty, which later on led to its decline. The sincere awe which kingship evoked is well described in the soliloquies of Ganadisa and Haradatta when they approach Agnimitra for exhibiting their skill as teachers of singing and dancing. Ganadisa says —

अहो दुरासदो राजमहिमा । तथा हि —

न च न परिचितो न चापरमपश्चित्सुपैमि तथापि पार्श्वमस्य ।

सलिलनिधिरिव प्रतिक्षण मे भवति सप्त नवनवोऽयमदणो

(M M —I—68)

(How mysterious is Royalty ! This King is not a stranger to me, he has also a charming personality. Still I am approaching him nervously. As the ocean changes from moment to moment, so the King appears to be new, whenever I see him.)

It is just possible that Kalidasa has been describing through Ganadasa his own attitude towards Chandragupta II.

There was no child marriage. Śakuntalā, Indumatī and Malavikā choose kings as their husbands,

when they have reached their age of discretion. There was no *Paṇḍa* system. Yet the veil was used by brides (M M—V—144 and R V—XIII-8), and when women appeared in public—*Sākuntalā* wears a veil (A S—V 45) when she presents herself at her husband's court. But matrons like *Sudāshinā* did not cover their heads (R V-I 42). Natural modesty would prevent even a married woman, who was the mother of a child, from going with her husband to her seniors, who were worthy of reverence. *Dushmanta* persuades *Sākuntalā* with difficulty to accompany him to *Mirichā* and *Aditi* (A S—VII 41). Since the rites of hospitality were considered sacred, women appeared before strangers—as *Sākuntalā*, *Priyamvadā* and *Anasuyā* do before *Dushmanta*—if they happened to be guests (A S—I). From the study of the works of the Poet it appears that the *Zenana* system of later times was unknown in the time of *Kalidāsa*.

Men allowed their hair to grow long like women (R V—IX—51, XIX—31). Every boy had a tuft of long hair on his head. A prince would wear five *sikhā* or side locks (R V-XI—1). Men wore *शिरोवेष्टन* (*pagri* or head covering—R V—VIII 12).

Both men and women were fond of ornaments. The *Yakshi* in the *Meghaduta* wears golden bracelets (12), So do *Agnimitra*, *Kusā*, *Agnivarna* and *Dushmanta* (M M—II 33, R V—XVI 73, XIX—14, A S—VI 31). *Aja* has earrings (R V-V—65). *Pururava* wears necklaces (*मणियष्टय*—V V—III—48). So does *Kusā* (R V—XVI 68). *Atithi* on the occasion of his installation wears round his brow a pearl wreath in

which rubies (पद्मरागमणि) are set (R V—XVIII 22)

ushmanta's ring has a gem inserted in it and his name engraved on it (A S—Preludeto Act VI—I and VI—72 and 78) Princes wore brilliant golden rings (R V—VI—18) Princes and Princesses wore armlets (केयूर—R V—VII—50 , XVI-56) The former had gold rings and crowns studded with glowing gems—किरीट R V—VI—18 and 19)

Females were fond of gold girdles strung with thread, in which sometimes gems were inserted (M M—III—160 , K S—I—38, VII—61 , R V—XVI—65) They had also pearl girdles, pearl necklaces, and pearl (or jewel) earrings (R S—Rains—19 , K S I 42 , R V—XVI—67, XIX-45) Urvasī has an ekavalī or a string of pearls (V V—I—81) She also wears a sapphire set in pearls (V V III 37) Ladies wore on their hair etc a net work of pearls—(R V IX—44 , M D—II 35 Dharinī has a ring, the jewel of which radiates light (M M—I- II) Women wore nupuras or foot ornaments, which produced a melodious sound (M M,—III—10 and 11 , R V—XVI 56 , V V III 108) The Yaksha's wife makes her peacock dance in the afternoon by tinkling her bracelets musically Children are still lulled to sleep in a Bengali household by such a device (M D II—18) Even trees are made to bestow ornaments and silk cloths on Śākuntalā (A S—IV—71) A kind of earring was called dantapara (K S—VII—23) Poets fancied good pearls to exist in the two temporal bones (kumbhas) of elephants as they imagined the bright streak on the hood of a serpent to be its jewel (K S—

—I-6) There were spurious jewels with counterfeit colours which could be detected by jewellers (V V-II 173) Precious minerals were cut and polished after they had been dug out of quarries (R V—III—18) Females sometimes wore ornaments of flowers and sprays of trees (M M—III 125 and R S—Spring—5 &c) The pictures of some of the ornaments are to be found in the Prabasi (Srivana, 1334, pp 551, 553 and 556)

The elaborate toilet of the bride is described in the seventh canto of Kumarasambhavam and of a married woman in the Fourth Act of Abhijnana-Sakuntalam

Both men and women were fond of flowers Women inserted kururavas in their top knots, kundas in their braids and ladambas where the hair was parted and wore snishas in their ears and used the pollen of the lodhra flower (probably also ketaki pollen, R V XIII 16) as powder and also for removing oil from the body (M D—II 2, K S—VII 9) Flower garlands were much appreciated (R S—Winter 15, Dewy Season 5, K S—VII-57 etc)

Hair combed into a single braid (एकवेणी) was the sign of mourning of the Yaksha's wife (M D—II—31), of Sakuntala (A S—VII—116 and 117) etc When husbands were away, women tied their hair into a single braid (R V—XIV—12) The wet hair of both men and women was dried and rendered fragrant with the heat of burning incense (generally black aguru—R S—Winter 5, Dewy season—5, 12, K S VII 14, M D 1-33, R V—XVII—22) They rendered their

cloths fragrant likewise (R S—Spring 13) Wax and goroachona were used by females as complexion balms (K S—VII 17, 18) Face powder (मुखाचूर्ण) is also referred to in Raghuvams'am (IX 45) They painted their feet and lips (M M III 30) with alaktaka or luksha rasa or liquid lac (R S Summer 5, K S -VII 19, 58) and their eyes with collyrium by means of a s'alika (a small brush—M D II 34, K S VII-59) After alaktaka had been applied, it was dried by means of blowing air on it with the mouth (M M III 93) The foreheads of ladies were beautified with black spots (तिलक—M M III 30) and their cheeks were ornamented with beautiful figures (विशेषक—ibid) Men also used complexion balm (अङ्गराग R V V 65) Barberiy (दारुहरिद्रा or कालीयक) was used also as a complexion balm (R S Hemanta—5) Ladies dyed the ends of their hair with a dark blue dye (ibid 15) The blue dye of the hair is also referred to in the fifth verse of the Ritusamhata (Spring) Women dyed their lips red with alaktaka (M M III 30) They used mirrors in their toilet (R S Winter 13, K S -VII 22) in which they were helped by female servants or companions (K S -VII 58) Children's feet were dyed with alaktaka (R V XVIII 41) Both men and women besmeared their body with sandalpaste (R S Summer 6, R V-XIX 45 etc) and painted beautiful figures on their hands and bodies with it, which was sometimes mixed with musk and sometimes with goroachana (a bile-like thing found in the cow's head) on a sandal-paste ground (K S VIII 15, R V-III—55, XVI 67, XVII 24) Females beautified their body and hair with saffron (R S Winter 2, R V-IV 54, XVI 66, XIX-25) They

wore rustling silk-cloths made fragrant with the sandalwood perfume and tinged with saffron (R S Spring 4, R V XIX—41) Ladies tinged their clothes red with kusuma flowers (R S—Spring 4) Atithi wears during his investiture and Umi on the occasion of her marriage silk cloths with the figures of swans (K S V 67, R V—XVII 25) Silk cloths were sometimes so fine that they were easily moved by one's breath (R V XVI 42) The uttariya (scarf) of ladies was sometimes interwoven with jewels (R V XVI 42) Cloths for bathing were generally coarser and less costly than पद्मोर्ण or silk or woollen cloths (M M V-102) Nuns like Kausiki wore two काषाय (dyed) or गेरुया cloths, one of which served the purpose of an uttariya or a scarf (M M-V 98) Ladies wore beautiful waistcoats कृपांसक or कंचुलि and dyed silk cloths (सरागकौषेय R S Dewy Season 5) S'akuntala wears one made of bark (A S-I 45 and 46) In addition to these females most probably wore a scarf (uttariya) S'akuntala during her separation from her husband wears two pieces of cloth (A S VII 117)

There were portrait galleries in which females took considerable interest Besides singing and dancing—Malavika is expert in these—ladies knew to play on the flute (वेणु) and lute (वीणा), the latter being placed on their chests (R V—XIX—35) Hamsapadika sings a soul-enthralling song like Malavika, though the latter does so in the accompaniment of her clever dancing (A S—V—17 and M M—II—13) In the Meghaduta the wife of the Yaksha is a skilful musician, the lute being her favourite instrument She

composes songs in which her husband's name is cleverly introduced. Moreover, she is a skilful painter (M D—II-24, 25). Painting was an accomplishment possessed by both men and women alike. Dushmanta is a skilful painter (A S—VI). Agnimitra, Pururava and the Yaksha seem to have been versed in this art. Even some of the female attendants of Dushmanta's household are clever painters. They say that they have been sent by Mitravasu (the King's brother-in-law) to the royal pleasure-garden for painting (A S—VI—19—see also p 456). Ladies like Malavika and Iravati (M M—I 32) had singing and dancing masters, who like Ganadisa and Haradatta taught their pupils both the theory (शास्त्र) and practice (प्रयोग) (M M—I 74). In addition to the music of the lute and flute, that of the mridanga, muraja or pakhwaj was much appreciated (R V—XVI—13, 14, M D—II—1). Music, singing and dancing were esteemed by all sections of the society.

Plays were enacted before the courts of kings on the occasions of marriages, spring festivals, &c. by expert actors and actresses (K S—VII—91, M M—Prelude). Females acted the parts of women in dramas, as Urvashi does that of Lakshmi and Menaka that of Varuni in the drama called Lakshmi Svayamvara (V V—III—6). The Nati (female dancer and actor) is mentioned in the Prelude to Abhijnana-Sākuntalam. Dramatic exhibitions including singing and dancing are said to be esteemed even by gods (M M—I 28). So long as the learned are not pleased, actors should not think that they have acted their

parts well (A S —Prelude)

Educated men and women spoke Sanskrit. The king and ministers, the hermit, the general, the kanchuki, the herald, the charioteer, the stage-manager or sutradhara, the actors (nata and puriparsvika) and dancing masters like Ganadisa and Haradatta used Sanskrit. Sometimes a disciple who had not made much progress in his studies would converse in Prakrit like the second disciple of Bharata (A S—Prelude to Act III). On the other hand the Vidushaka, the gate keeper, the King's brother-in-law, who is the chief police officer, the constable, the fisherman, the child and women generally spoke Prakrit. But the boy A'yus converses in Sanskrit. Those who used Prakrit could, however, understand Sanskrit talking. Priyamvada can get even a Sanskrit śloka by heart (A S—IV 50).

Females like Kausiki were highly educated and spoke Sanskrit. The Vidushaka gives her the epithet Pandita (M M V—18). She is not only a learned but also a tactful lady. Her advice is sought even by the king and his chief queen. She is a good critic of singing and dancing. She remarks that the science or theory of singing, dancing and acting depends mainly on its application or practice (प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाट्यशास्त्रम् (M M—I—99). She says regarding Mita vika's dancing that her gestures and postures are highly expressive, that the movements of her feet are harmonious and that the sentiment she wants to convey engrosses her completely (M M—II—23). She is also acquainted with the art of medicine. When

the Vidushaka pretends that he has been bitten by a viper, she says that cure can be effected by the cutting off of the part bitten, its cauterisation or its bleeding (M M—IV—49, see also R V—I 28) Her theory of education should be borne in mind by all teachers—

शिष्टा क्रिया कस्यचिदात्मसस्था,

सकान्तिरनयस्य विशेषयुक्ता,

यस्योभय साधु स शिक्षकाणां

धुरि प्रतिष्ठापयितव्य एव ॥—M M I 112

(There are some teachers, who though highly learned themselves are incapable of imparting their knowledge to their pupils. There are others again, who (though not very learned) are highly efficient in communicating their learning to their pupils. But he who possesses great learning and capacity for instruction is to be placed in the forefront of teachers.)

The inmates of the royal zenana were not allowed to idle their time away. They had to learn various arts for which experts were brought from other states. Two such girls whose forte is music are sent to Agni-mitra as presents by the defeated King of Vidarbha (M M—V—48 and 59). Anasuya is versed in Itihāsa or the branch of learning dealing with the instructive stories of the past (A S—III—27). Uma is properly educated, though the knowledge she acquired in her previous births has helped her a good deal in her present life (K S—I 30). Sakuntala and Urvasī write love-letters (A S—III—64 and V V II 92).

Wives like the chief queens of Dushmanta and

Agnimitra reminded their husbands of their kingly duties (M M—IV 73 and A S—VI 153) The advice of ladies was sought by the heads of families in household matters Kanva consults Gautamī regarding Śakuntalā's conduct at her husband's house (A S—IV 126) The wife was always consulted by the husband in the matter of their daughter's marriage (K S—VI—85)

Marriages were celebrated on auspicious occasions when the planets and stars would be most favourable (K S—VII—1) The day of marriage was fixed by the bridegroom's guardians (K S—VI—93) The marriage procession was formed in the afternoon (K S—VII—63), but the marriage was celebrated at night (K S—VII—85) The principal streets of a town were decorated with gilt or rainbow-coloured gates, wreaths of flowers and numerous flags which intercepted the rays of the sun (R V—VII—4) Flowers were showered on the bridegroom in the streets ankledeep (K S—VII—55) Fried paddy was thrown on the bridegroom by ladies (K S—VII—69) Marriage was celebrated as at present in the bride's house, which was attended by the parties of both the bridegroom and the bride (K S—VII—53) The bridegroom's party made the first proposal (K S—I—52—and VI—1) Ladies like Arundhatī were regarded as experts in marriage negotiations—*प्रायेणैवविधे कार्यये पुरश्चीणा प्रगल्भता* (Generally in such matters matrons show great cleverness—K S—VI—32)

Though there was no objection to having more

wives than one, yet the bride and her relations always desired that she alone should enjoy the love of her husband Arundhati consoles Menaka, who has been anticipating with sorrow her separation from her beloved daughter on the occasion of her marriage with Siva, by saying that her daughter will marry Siva who is अनन्यपूर्व or one who has not given his love to any other woman (K S—VI—92) When Uma on the eve of her marriage prostrates herself before the citizens' chaste wives who are her seniors, they pronounce on her the blessing that she will obtain the अखण्डितप्रेम or the undivided love of her husband (K S—VII—27 and 28)

On the day of her marriage Uma, who wears a silk loth and holds the durva grass and an arrow in her hand, is bathed on a piece of stone in a four cornered room (made with four plantain trees in Bengal—K S VII—6, 7 etc) She is helped in her toilet by women whose husbands and sons are alive (7) After her bath the bride wears a new white cloth and takes a mirror (in Bengal the collyrium holder) in her hand The auspicious thread is tied round the lower part of her left hand, and her elaborate toilet is then finished (K S—VII—13 to 26) Fire kindled with clarified butter, s'ami leaves etc, has always been the witness of a Hindu marriage (K S—VII—83, R V—VII—20) round which the married pair move thrice (K S—VII—80) The Dhruva star or the Pole star—in Bengal this is still the practice—is looked at by the bridegroom and the bride (K S—VII—85) The married pair are blessed with wet sundried rice आन्नं अन्नत—11

Bengal with paddy and durva grass—(K S —VII—88)

When girls reached marriageable age, their freedom of movement was reasonably curtailed. When Śāluntalā leaves for Hastinapura, her playmates Anasuyā and Pīyamvadā are not allowed to accompany her beyond a certain distance (A S —IV—130). The matrons of a town or village took considerable interest in every marriage-celebration (K S —VII—2). Presents were given to the bridegroom by the guardian of the bride according to his capacity (K S —VII—72, R V VII 32). The portraits of brides were utilised in marriage negotiations by female messengers (Dutī or Ghatakī)—R V —XVIII—53. The bride's guardian received the bridegroom with due pomp, when the latter arrived at the outskirts of the town (K S —VII—52, R V —V—61).

The stems of Asoka and other trees were surrounded with raised earth (भित्तिवेदिका—M M—V—1) in order to prevent water from flowing out. This careful tending of plants was called then सत्कारविधि (ibid). Asoka trees (especially the red variety) were touched with the left foot by beautiful women dressed in their best in order that they might blossom. This was the *dohada* (a ceremony for making trees bear flower and fruit) of the trees (M M —III—123, M D —II—17). Asoka was prized by women probably for its efficacy in female diseases and also because it was supposed, as its name implies, to remove all sorrow. This is also referred to in the expression दोहदुष्मना आमपादमिलायी in the Meghadutam (II—17) and in

Raghuvams'am (VIII—62 and 63) The Vakula tree was supposed to flower, when women spat wine on it (R V—IX—30, M D—II—17) The mango tree was playfully married by women with various creepers e g, Priyangu (R V—VIII—61), Madhavi (A S—IV—106, M M—IV—138), Navamalikā (A S I—55) &c Trees and flowers were the special objects of the affection of the women of the Poet's time The attachment of Uma, Śakuntala and Sita to plants is most ardent The wife of the Yaksha has adopted a young Mandara tree as her son कुतकतनय (M D—II—14) There were pleasure-gardens in suburbs (R V—XIV—30)

Like the marriage ceremony in Kumara sambhava royal installation is described in detail in Raghuvams'a (XVII—8 to 17) A new pavilion (विमान) supported on four pillars with a raised tapis (वेदि) is erected by artisans Trumpets are blown Br hmans headed by the family priest pour with appropriate mantras (holy texts) sacred water on the head of the prince who is seated on the vedi and whose praises are sung by panegyrists On the conclusion of the ceremony he gives large sums of money to the priests who bless him Prisoners are released capital punishment remitted, beasts of burden unyoked and cows are not milked The Prince is dressed by his valets after he has taken his seat on an ivory stool His forehead is painted with a tilaka mark (R V XVIII 44) After his hair has been dried with the heat of incense and he has put on beautiful and precious ornaments, he goes to the court and takes his seat on the throne of his ancestors, when the white umbrella is raised

over his head. Prayers are offered at all the temples of the capital for the prosperity and happiness of the new king.

Respect for seniors and kind treatment of servants were always enjoined, as by Kanva to Śākuntalā (A S—IV—126). Women were as curious as they are at present. They left even their toilet incomplete to see marriage processions (K S—VII—56 etc., and R V—VII—5 etc.) Preceptors were implicitly obeyed. Śringarava, Śaradvata and Kautsa are noted for their obedience to their gurus. Hospitality was regarded as an important virtue (A S—I—74 and 78). Charity to Brahmins was practised on an extensive scale by kings. Raghu's charity to Kautsa and also on the occasion of his Viśvājīta sacrifice has become proverbial. Presents were freely given when a child was born (R V—III—16) or when a good news, for example, of a victory was communicated (M V—V—133 and 134). The story of Raghu, Varatantu and Kautsa in the fifth canto of the Raghuvamśam is instructive. It may be the description of an ideal condition of things. Still the high standard presented gives some clue to the actual state of affairs. Kautsa wants to pay some fees for his tuition to his preceptor Varatantu, who replies that his pupil's obedient service has been to him more than substantial fees. But on Kautsa's insistence, the preceptor becomes irritated and says that fourteen crores of gold coins are his fees for his teaching him fourteen branches of learning. Kautsa now comes to Raghu, who has been rendered penniless by his excessive charities on the occasion of his Viśvājīta

sacrifice and who after making enquiries about the well being of the hermitage, asks Kautsa if he can be of any service to him. When Kautsa being urged names the enormous sum, Raghu does not want to send him away empty handed, but manages to obtain enough money from Kuveia which he proffers to Kautsa who, however, takes only the amount of his preceptor's fees. The hospitality, reverence for learning and for Brahmans (specially hermits) and extensive charity of Raghu and the unflinching devotion to and profound regard for his preceptor and want of greed of Kautsa have been inculcated effectively by this story. But in order to remove the want of a Brahman, Raghu is on the point of extorting the necessary amount from the god of riches. Here may be a reference to the exaction of money by Gupta kings from rich men similar to the forced loans or *benevolences* to which English kings from Henry III to Charles II downwards resorted to recuperate their coffers.

Many foreign nations were known—the Persians the Huns, the Kambhojas and the Chinese. The Huns were the White Huns. Their white skin is referred to in *Raghuvams'āṃ* (see p 110), where the Poet describes the war of the rose and lily on the cheeks of their women. *Ams'uka* or silk was imported from China (KS—VII—3 and AS—I 132). Spices like cloves were imported from Spice Islands (RV—VI—57). Good horses were brought from Kambhoja and Persia (बनायु-देस) and were given salt to lick in the morning (RV—IV—70 and V—73). Even now horses are given salt for licking. Greek (probably both Greek and Persian)

women acted as the king's body-guard. They were expert in handling bows and arrows and wore flower-garlands (A S—II 1, V V—V—13). Trade, commerce and agriculture were encouraged and mines, elephant-forests and arable lands and bridges were regarded as important sources of royal wealth (R V—XVI—2, XVII—66). Kalidasa blames Dasāratha, because he wants to kill a wild elephant (R V—IX—74, also V—50). One sixth of the produce was paid to the king as revenue (R V—II—66, XVII—65 and A S—V—6). Even hermits had to throw one sixth of unchha paddy on the banks of rivers as the king's dues (R V—V—8). It appears that both inland and maritime trade contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the Gupta Empire. Caravans with articles of trade proceeded regularly from Berar to Bhilsa (M M—V—83). Maritime trade is referred to in धनवृद्धिनाम वणिक् — a very rich merchant named Dhana-vriddhi who died childless (A S—VI—157). The Poet probably refers to river trade in R V—XVII—64. He also mentions the profusion of commodities in the markets of Ayodhya (R V—XIV—30 and XVI—41).

Figure making like painting (see p 436) was not neglected. Rama caused a golden image of Sita to be made and placed always before him (R V—XV—61). Children were fond of the moving clay figures of peacocks (A S—VII—64 and 98). Boys and girls played with handukas or balls which were thrown upwards (R V—XVI—83) and dolls (K S—I 29) and toy lotuses (M D—II 2, R, V—VI—13, K S—VI—84). Both men and women were fond of swings

(R V—IX—46, XIX—4, M M—III 19) There were other mechanical devices like the revolving artificial fountain (भ्रान्तिमद्वारियन्त्रम्) flinging out continually sprays of water (V M—II 46) Houses of rich men were furnished with machines throwing out cool water sprays (यन्त्रप्रवाहशिशिरपरीतघारागृह)—R V—XVI—49 Rooms were cooled by means of artificial springs—विचित्र जलयन्त्रमन्दिरम् (R S—Summer—2) There is a reference to यन्त्र रागृहत्वम्—a similar device—in Meghadutam (I-62) There were painted wooden statues of females on columns (R V—XVI—17) The chariot and palanquin as conveyances were esteemed by the royalty मनुष्यवाह्य चतुरस्रयान (R V—VI 10) and कर्णारथ (R V—XIV 13) But humbler mortals travelled on foot, as Sākuntalā and her companions do, when she goes to meet her husband “The ch mra or chowrie, the white bushy tail of the Tibet cow fixed on a gold or ornamented shaft, rose from between the ears of the horses the banner or bannercet with the device of the chief rose at the back of the car, sometimes several little triangular flags were mounted on its sides¹ (V—V—I, beginning)” Versified eulogies were embroidered in various attractive colours on cloths (A S—VII—12) The curtain of tirashkarinī was used as a protection from public gaze (K S—I—14) and was also hung in front of the nepathya or green-room (M M—II-7) Dasāratha spends several nights in new and beautiful tents (R V—XI-93) So does also Rama on his return home after exile (R V—XIII 79) Precious minerals were

pierced with the vajra, probably a diamond needle (R V—I-4), and were cut and polished (R V—III-18) Manahsila or red arsenic was dug out of rocks by means of a stone cutting instrument called tanka (R V—XII 80) The birch bark served the purpose of paper (K S—I 7 and V V—II 95) Horses and camels were used as beasts of burden (R V—V -32) Exhausted horses were cooled by bathing their backs with water (A S—I 36) Jingling bells were attached to the necks of bulls and elephants (K S—VII 49 and R V—VII 41) The quality of gold was determined by testing it on a touchstone (R V—XVII 46) and also in fire (R V—I 10) There were boxes (मञ्जूषा) for storing ornaments (M M—IV—107 and V—133) Umbrellas were common (A S—V 7) The white umbrella was an emblem of royalty (R V—III 70) Spotless mirrors were available (A S—VII 162) Mirrors with gold frames were used in palaces (R V—XVIII 26) A fruit called kataka (nirmali) was used for cleansing muddy water—पङ्कच्छिद फलसेन निक्षेणाविल पय (M M—II—20) A kind of hard plaster, called वज्ररूप was used as a cement (V V—III—114) Cane seats were provided for respected persons (K S—VI 50) Seats were also made of ivory (R V—XVII-21), Disciples carried the seats (a tiger's skin or a black buck's skin) of their preceptors (V V—III—beginning) Good as'anas (seats) of deerskin were available in the North Western Provinces (R V—IV-65) Marble seats (मणिशिलापट्टक—V V—II 49) were used in hot weather Frying pans were used in preparing eatables in the market (विपणिकन्दु—M.M—

II 56) Boats plied continually on the Ganges and the Sarayu (R V—XVI 34, 57, 59), the latter at least having a flight of stone or brick built steps (R V—XVI 56) Every throne had a foot stool (पादपीठ) near it (K S III 11), which was sometimes made of gold (R V—XVIII—41) A raised dais (मञ्चम्) with a flight of steps and with seats on it and covered with beautifully coloured carpets (आस्तरण) was erected on the occasion of Svayamvaras (R V—VI 3 and 4)

Paddy was transplanted in Lower Bengal,¹ which was intersected by numerous rivers (R V—IV-36) and was full of cane plants and palm-trees Betel plants grew abundantly on the sea coast Wine was made from cocoanut palms Sandalwood and cardamom were to be found in Southern India and pearls in the Palk Strait There were expert divers (R V—XVI—75) Flowers and birds were plentiful in the the region of the Vindhya Hamsas, they said, could easily separate milk from water with which it was mixed (A S—VI 219) Saffron, akshota and grapes were available in the Northern Punjab (R V—IV 65, 67, 69) and musk could be had from muskdeer on the Himalayas (K S—I-54, R V—IV 74) Sandal trees were supposed to be infested with serpents, specially during heat (R V—IV 48, X—42, XI—64, XII—32, A S—VII-74) Elephants were available in the forests of Assam (R V—IV—83) Figures were

1 It should be remembered that the transplantation of paddy is not peculiar to Bengal This has also been a long standing practice in the United Provinces with regard to certain varieties of paddy

painted on elephants (M D —I 19) Tamed elephants were bathed regularly (R V —I 71) The elephant was regarded as an important source of royal revenue (R V —XVI 2, 66) Megasthenes also says "Elephants are caught in great numbers by the Indians and are trained for war and are of great moment in turning the scale of victory" ¹ Kālidasa frequently refers to the fragrant temporal juice (मद्) of the animal (R V —XVII 70, V V —IV 37 and 38) So says also Megasthenes, "(Spring) is the season when the male (elephant) is in heat and becomes ferocious At this time he discharges a fatty substance through an orifice near the temples It is also the season for females, when the corresponding passage opens" ² The fondness of our Poet for elephants is evident from numerous references to this animal in his works The wild elephant sometimes caused much mischief (A S —I 125 and 127) He mentions also the *Ukāmukhi Srigala*, corresponding according to the compiler of *Viśvakosha* to the Bengali *Khvank'siyali* (*Vulpes Bengalensis*) which sends out flashes of light when it grinds with its teeth crabs and shells (R V —XVI 12) The Poet frequently refers to *oshadhi* or herbs emitting rays of phosphorescent light and dispelling the darkness of the night (K S I 2, 10, R V —IV 75)

Love of nature and lower animals—mountains, rivers, lakes, tanks full of lotuses and lilies, mango-blossoms, numerous flowers creepers and birds (specially peacocks) pervaded all sections of the society

1 M A I—p 30

2 Ibid—p 92

Even kanchukis, vidushakas and female attendants could appreciate Nature's beauty (A S—IV and Prelude to Act VI, and M M—III) Vegetable and animal life was regarded as sacred in the hermitage (R V—V—6, 7 and A S) Sákuntala, Uma and the wife of Yaksha tend plants as if they are their children (A S—IV K S—V 14, M D—II 14) Similar is the treatment accorded by Sákuntala and Uma to deer (ibid) Almost divine honour was bestowed on the cow (see the story of Nandini R V—I and II)

They believed in the existence of evil spirits which, Dushmanta's Kanchuki feared, persecuted the king's jester in the garret (A S—VI—203) The throbbing of the right eye was regarded as ominous and that of the left as auspicious by females, while the shaking of the right hand foreboded good to males (M M—V—33, V V—III—34, A S—I—37, V—40, VII—49, R V—XIV—49, R V—XII—90) Magical charms like rings and armlets were regarded as a protection against evil influence (A S—VII—104) Pururava pretends that he has been searching मन्त्रपत्र (charm paper—V V—II—162) People had much faith in astrological predictions Malavika's identity is not disclosed, because a certain saintly astrologer has predicted that in order to be wedded to a worthy bridegroom she has to serve as a maidservant for a year (M M—V—106) A particular kind of ring was used as a cure for snake bite (M M—I—10) Sacrificial water शान्नुदक was regarded as efficacious in the cure of ailments (A S—III—171) Medicines cannot be properly administered unless the disease has been

accurately diagnosed—Sanskritised Prakrit—विकार खलु परमार्थत अज्ञात्वा अनारम्भ प्रतिकारस्य (A S—III—17) Medicines were not given *gratis* to the poor by doctors (M M—II—12) Doctors enjoined fixed times for taking meals (M M—II—17) The powdered roots of *Usīra* (a kind of grass) and lotus plants were used for sunstroke (A S—III—16 and 21) Solution of sugarcandy in water was supposed to remove the effects of intoxication (M M—III—32) Red sandal paste was used for bruises (M M—IV—28) Cold was regarded as efficacious in bruises—शीतक्रिया चास्यगृह्य ग्रहस्ता (M M—IV—74) Stimulants were administered in typhoid fever (R V—II—48) Hermits used ingudi oil for curing sores—व्रणविरोपणमिडुदीना तैल (A S—IV—113) Aromatic and bitter ingredients were mixed with emetics to ward off the injurious effects of the latter (M D—I—20 and Mallinatha's commentary) The snake bite treatment has already been referred to (see p 438) The Vidushaka coming to the king and chief queen with his finger tied with the sacred thread (M M—IV 43) shows that the tying of the part of the body above that bitten by a viper was known in those days Dhruvasiddhi is a specialist in snake-bites (M M—IV 50) There were special doctors for treating pregnant women and children (R V—III 12) Women were fond of tasting baked clay when they were with child (R V—III—3) The desires of females during their pregnancy were scrupulously fulfilled (R V—III—5 and 6)

Royalty and aristocracy had pleasure gardens and pleasure tanks with flights of steps (R V—XVI 15,

46) and samudragrihas or artificial isles and also artificial hills made resonant by the cries of peacocks (R V—XIX 37, XVI 28 , M D—II 16) and bowers of Mādhavi creepers, the floors of which were paved with bejewelled stoneslabs (A S—VI 50) There were beautiful parks in a city like Ayodhya, which were the resorts of gallants (R V—XVI -19) Palaces had several stories, the uppermost of which was furnished with a pigeon cote (A S—VI—203 , M D—I 39) and was used also as a watch tower (दिगवलोकनप्रासाद) King Puruṣa's palace is several stories high, has steps decorated with crystals and jewels and is designated maniharma or jewel house (V V—III-17) Houses were surrounded by compound-walls (शाल - R V—XVI—11) Sometimes a canopy gave shade to the topmost roof (R V—XIX—39) The mansions of the rich were lofty, had painted walls and were adorned with pictures and were variegated with jewels Roofs were decorated with crystals which reflected the stars (M D—II—1, 5) Sometimes the pictures on the walls were of elephants which had entered lotus beds and were presented with lotus stalks by female elephants (R V—XVI—16) Dancing peacocks with their expanded rainbow coloured plumes on gilt and bejewelled perches (वासयद्भि) placed on crystal plates, and speaking parrots were to be found in such houses (M D—II—3, 18, 24, R V—V—74 XVI—14) A tank with a set of green stone steps, full of lotuses and swans, adjoined usually the homestead of a wealthy man (M D—II—15 , K S—II—233, 44, IV—6, R V—I—43, IX—37, XI—12, XVI—46 etc) The Vidushaka

of Agnimitra refers to a crystal or glass-pillar (स्फटिक स्तम्भ) behind which he hides himself (M M —IV—137) There were *dehalis* (देहली—M D —II—26) or shelves beneath door arches on which things were kept The gateway or torana was variegated with the colours of the rainbow (M D —II—14)

Those who have seen the richly carved gateways or toranas of the great stupa at Sanchi can easily realise the excellence which architecture could attain in 150 A D, at least two centuries before the Golden Age of Indian History as Rai Bahadur Sahn characterises the Gupta Period He quotes Sir John Marshall's remarks on this period "The Gupta Age marked a re-awakening, a true 'Renaissance' of the Indian intellect, and the new intellectualism was reflected in architecture and the formative arts as much as in other spheres of knowledge and thought Indeed it is precisely in their intellectual qualities—in their logical thought and logical beauty—that the architecture and sculpture of the Gupta age stand pre eminent in the history of Indian art, and that they remind us in many respects of the creations of Greece 800 years earlier or of Italy a thousand years later " The Rai-Bahadur adds, "The Gupta kings were all followers of Brahmanical Hindu faith and naturally their best efforts were directed towards the regeneration of the early Brahmanical institutions, such as the *Asvamedha* sacrifice, the revival of the Sanskrit language and literature and the endowment of Brahmanical religious establishments Some of the most noteworthy foundations of this period are the brick temples

at Bhitargaon and other places in the Cawnpore District, the Vaishnava pillar and a colossal statue of the Boar incarnation at Eran, the Garuda standard erected by Skandagupta at Kahaon in the Gorakhpur District, the beautiful Gupta temple at Deogarh and the last not the least the celebrated iron-pillar at Old Delhi. The Gupta kings were, however, no narrow minded sectarians. Samudragupta¹, who took much delight in the society of learned men, showed favour to Vasubandhu the famous Buddhist author and we possess Fa Hian's reliable testimony to show that during the Gupta rule the Buddhists enjoyed perfect freedom of worship and full liberty to endow their sacred places. The sculptures excavated at Sarnath include at least three Buddha images which in the inscriptions engraved on them are described as having been installed in the years 154 (473 A D) and 157 (A D 476) of the Gupta Era in the reigns of Kumāragupta (II) and Budhagupta².

There are the remains of a temple built in the Gupta Age on the hill at Sanchi. There must have been similar temples of Chandisvara at Ujjayini—the present temple being of a much later date but built probably on the old foundation and of Skanda at Devagiri, described in the Meghaduta. Regarding the Sanchi temple Sir John Marshall says, "Another structure, which cannot fail to recall the classic temple of Greece, and particularly the Temple of Wingless

¹ He also allowed the Buddhists of Ceylon to found a monastery at Gayā (See p 100)

² Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sarnath (4th ed)—pp 10 -11

Victory on the Akropolis at Athens, is the little shrine a few paces to the east. It is a very unpretentious building consisting of nothing more than a simple flat-roofed chamber with a pillared porch in front, but despite its modest size and despite the absence of that refinement and clear definition which are the key notes of Athenian architecture, we cannot but perceive that it is permeated with essentially the same elements of logical thought and logical beauty as the earlier architecture in the west. The inherent characteristics of Greek buildings are their architectural propriety, their symmetry and proportion, the appreciation which they show of plain surfaces and the restraint in their ornament and here, in the heart of Central India, we are confronted by all these same characteristics in a Buddhist building of the 4th century A.D., and we ask ourselves involuntarily—what is the meaning of this strange similarity, and did India borrow these ideas from Greece? The answer to these questions is that in the age of the Gupta kings to which this temple belongs, Indian art was certainly borrowing some of its ideas and motives from the west, but it is not to such borrowings or to any superficial imitation that classical traits in this building are due. The cause lies deeper and is to be sought in the fact that the Gupta age was the age of India's 'Renaissance' it was the period when the thought and genius of the people awakened to new powers and when there was an outburst of mental activity which has never since been repeated. India at this time was undergoing just the same experience

that Greece had undergone eight centuries earlier and Italy underwent a thousand years later, and it is in no way remarkable therefore that her art like her thought found expression in the same intellectuality, in the same purposefulness and in the same logical definition as the arts of Greece and Italy. This little shrine, in fact, reflects in its every stone the mentality and temperament of the people and of the epoch which produced it—an epoch which was essentially creative and not imitative, and if we take the trouble to compare it with the gateways (ornamental toranas) for example we shall find in their different characters an eloquent index to the change which came over Indian culture during the first four centuries of the Christian era.”¹

Mr Havell is of opinion that there were two classes of medieval temples—sikhar or spire crowned and flat roofed. The former were the temples of Vishnu and the latter of Śiva.²

Painted rooms may have been referred to in सचित्रा of Kalidasa's Meghaduta and also in Vatsabhatti's निविष्टचित्तकर्माणि (see p p 40-41). Mr Havell writes— Apart from temple architecture the art of the Gupta period is illustrated by some of the earlier halls and chapels of the splendid abbey of Ajanta, one of the great universities of the time. The fragments of the wonderful frescoes still remaining on the walls are not only masterpieces of painting, but, both in their vivid imagination and in their realistic portrayal of con-

1 The Monuments of Sanchi by Sir John Marshall p p 33-34.

2 Aryan rule in India by E B Havell p 183

temporary life, they give a striking impression of the masterful creative impulses which were then stirring the mind of India. In this respect they fully confirm the evidence of contemporary Sanskrit literature and Fa Hian's graphic description of Indian life.

"The most beautiful, the most impressive work is said to be the magnificent fresco from Ajanta of the glorified Buddha returning with his beggar's bowl to his wife and child after his 'illumination'. It has been described as perhaps the noblest existing example of the art of the Gupta period, the classic age of all Indian culture. The art of the East and the West represents life from two wholly different points of view, for while the artist of the west is an objective realist, the Eastern artist is a subjective idealist. The vital characteristic of pure art is the expression of thought and not merely the expression of form. 'It is difficult says Havell to argue with those who are so steeped in western academic prejudices as to treat all Hindu art as puerile and detestable, because it has chosen the most simple and obvious forms of symbolism, such as a third eye to denote spiritual consciousness—or multiplicity of arms to denote the universal attributes of divinity' " ¹

"As records of the religious thought of the (Gupta) period they show clearly that the Buddha then, and probably long before that time, was not only recognized by Brahman theology as one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, but actually worshipped as such by the

¹ The key to Indian art by N H —The Calcutta Statesman of July 17 1927

Buddhists themselves, though their iconic symbolism and terminology were adapted to their own physical tenets. In the noble fresco at (Ajanta) of the marriage of Prince Siddhartha, which decorates the front of the shrine in the first monastic hall—one of a series which are within or very near to the Gupta period—the Bodhisattva is represented holding Vishnu's blue lotus-flower, and the two divine lovers, Śiva and Parvatī, watch the ceremony with benevolent interest from the heights of mount Kailāsa. Mahāyāna Buddhism is here shown to be one of the sectarian phases of the great Vaishnava movement of which all the Gupta Emperors from Chandragupta to Balāditya were the zealous patrons. The Śaiva sculptures of Elephanta, which belong to the same artistic school, though perhaps of a somewhat later period, reveal another sectarian phase of the same movement"¹ Here the marriage of Śiva and Parvatī resembles that of Vishnu and Lakshmi, and the head of Vishnu in the Trimurti sculpture that of the Bodhisattva in the Ajanta frescoes "Thus," continues Mr. Havell, "the sculptors and painters of the Gupta age have left to posterity a record of the synthesis of Indian thought. The psychology of Indian history can never be understood by treating Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism as watertight compartments, wholly independent of each other nor is it possible in this way to understand the tolerance shown by one sect towards another"²

Royal installation (R V—XVII), marriage (K S

1 Havell's *Aryan Rule in India* pp 183—84

2 *Ibid*—pp—184—85

—VII), and other ceremonies were celebrated with proper religious rites. They were performed at times fixed with great care. The disciple of Kanva watches the last hours of the night for the auspicious juncture (A S—IV—32). Sacrifices like the As'vamedha were performed with due pomp. Animal sacrifices were revived with the accession of the Guptas to imperial sovereignty (R V—XVI—39). Kalidasa makes Dilipa celebrate ninety-nine As'vamedhas, Raghu Vis'vaji and Daśaratha Rāma and Atithi As'vamedha sacrifices. In several inscriptions Samudragupta is lauded for his reviving the Asvamedha sacrifice. One of the gold medals struck by Samudragupta to celebrate the event with a representation of the horse and the sacrificial altar is in the British Museum, and the carved stone horse with the name of the king engraved on its neck in the Lucknow Museum is believed to be the memorial of the sacrifice. Sacrifices were offered on the banks of rivers (R V—XVI—21,35). The central part of the altar (वेदी) was narrower than the two ends (K S—I—39).

Pilgrimage was encouraged. During Kanva's absence on a pilgrimage for averting an evil which might befall Sakuntalā, Dushmanta married her. Brahmins and specially ascetics were highly respected and religious austerities including those enjoined by Yoga Philosophy greatly esteemed. Śūdras were not however allowed to practise the religious rites and austerities of the Brahmins (R V—XV—51). Even kings retired to the forest in their old age and devoted themselves to religious contemplation. The śrāddha of a

Kshatriya was performed on the expiry of ten days after his death (R V—VIII—73) It was a high praise for a king like Dushmanta according to Śaṅgarava and the priest that he made every varṇa or caste conform to its prescribed duties and every individual observe the rules of the four Āśramas, Brahmacharyya, Gṛhasthya, Vanaprastha and Bhṛikshya in the four periods of his life (A S—V—37 42) Sītā after her banishment asks Lakshmana to tell Rama that the duty of a king as prescribed by Manu is to regulate the four varṇas and four āśramas (R V—XIV—67) So Rāmachandra after banishing Sītā devotes the whole of his attention to the supervision of Varnāśrama (R V—XIV—85)

From the works of Kālidāsa it appears that beauty, pleasure and conformity to Brahmanical rites and customs were regarded as the highest ends of human existence in his age. Though self control was exhorted, it was not practised by the majority and was confined to the hermitage. Dushmanta, the ideal monarch, is carried away by the impulse of the moment and wants to make Śākuntalā his wife, though her guardian is absent and though he has many queens. But conformity to the externals of religion and social decorum—his regarding Śākuntalā as another's wife—prevents him from accepting her as a queen when she presents herself before him at Hastinapura, though he is ravished by her beauty.

Things which contribute to the pleasures of the senses and articles of luxury were abundant in this age—good roads and bridges, comfortable and beauti-

ful lofty lime-washed houses with charming female figures on columns, contrivances for cooling rooms with cold sprays in summer, chairs with cane seats, gilt mirrors, fine clothes, and ornaments made of gold and jewels umbrellas, swings, gardens adorned with various flowers, tanks full of lotuses, music, painting dramatic representation sandal paste, musk and other incenses, horses elephants and chariots as conveyances, toothsome delicacies and other luxuries of townlife Drinking of wine was not discouraged Even a queen like Iravatī would intoxicate herself with wine Sexual morality among townsmen was not of a high order The Poet introduces sensual imagery even when it is not at all necessary, (*e g* R V —XI—52) Wanton women were not rare Girls roamed at night in search of lovers, as male gallants did for their sweet hearts The Poet refers to the employment of prostitutes as dancers in the temple of Mahakala in his Meghaduta and in the palace of Dilipa on the birth of his son in the Raghuvams'am Though much of the sensuality of some passages of Kalidasa's works may be attributed to the literary convention of the age which required polished writers to follow the Kamas'itra of Vatsyana in their portraiture of the sensuous aspects of Man and Nature, yet it appears that inspite of strict injunctions regarding chastity and of the warnings of the evil consequences of sensual indulgence (R V —XVIII—14, XIX —48 and 49) sensuality was not much discouraged in the society of the rich and fashionable

Diplomacy including the employment of spies or in short the art of politics is described in detail in the

seventeenth canto of the Raghuvamsam Conclusion of peace with the enemy, bribing them, sowing dissension among them, and waging war with them were the four politic means of the sovereign

Refinement of manners was an important characteristic of this age and was noticeable specially in the king Agnimitra, Dushmanta and Pururavas do not lose their temper even under great provocation

The bustle of townlife in the long run palled on a noble and sensitive mind and made it long for the peace and happiness of the hermitage It is we believe not Sarngarava but the Poet who speaks through him when he says to his friend S radvata—जनाकीर्णं मनेः हुतक्वहपरीतं गृहमिव (A S—V—37) (This populous town Hastinapura and this palace of Dushmanta appear to me to be a house surrounded by fire)

Though immersed in worldly pleasures and overwhelmed by the temptations of the senses and listening to the cuckoo's counsel—न पुनरेति गतं चतुर वयं (Enjoy yourself, for youth once gone shall not return—(R V —IX—47), the soul did not die,—it was alive and realised at lucid intervals the harmfulness of the fondness for the chase, gambling, wine drinking and sexual indulgence (R V —IX—7) and became awake to its noble calling, *vis*, living the life of the spirit—the highest end of human life This is the lesson taught in the Kumrasambhavam by S'iva's not being attainable by the charms of Umâ, and by sensual allurements as symbolised by Kama, Rati and Vasanta, but by Umas austerities This moral is also inculcated by the retirement of the sovereigns of the Raghu Dynasty

from the world and their living the life of ascetics in in their old age, and by Kanva's suggesting to Sakuntala that she and her husband should come back to the hermitage in their old age, for the attainment of salvation (A S —IV 141) and even by Pururava's decision to live the life of a hermit, if Urvas'ī has to go back to Paradise (V V —V—102)

Kālidāsa, the champion of Brahmanism, does not mention explicitly either Buddha or his religion in his works. We know, however, that Buddhism, though in in a state of decline in his time was still not a negligible factor. Mr. Cowell in his introduction to his Buddha charita says, "We can prove that Kālidāsa was not insensible to Buddhist influences for in the twelfth book of the Raghuvams'a (Ś'loka 21), we have a remarkable trace of Buddhism in the description of Rama's journey in the forest—'He every now and then fell asleep on Sītā's lap, resting under a tree whose shadow was motionless through his divine power' This well known miracle of Buddha's childhood does not occur in As'vaghosha, but it is given in the Lalita Vistara 'Ch XI)' The verse referred to is—

प्रभावस्तस्मितच्छायमाश्रित स वनस्पतिम्,
कदाचिदङ्गे सीताया शिरोऽ किञ्चिद्विश्रमात् ।

(একদা তরুর তলে রাম বসু বব
জঁবৎ শ্রমেতে যেন কবিশা শয়ন,
বাখি শিব প্রেমসীর অঙ্কের উপর,
অচলা করিয়া ছায়া প্রভাবে আশ্রন)

N D

Though Kālidāsa alludes to Mathura and Vrīndavana and mentions the taking of the jewel by the King of

S'urasena from the head of Kalivanaga of the river Yamuna and even uses the name Krishna as a synonym of Vishnu and refers to the dancing peacocks near the hill Govardhana (R V—I—49 to 51), yet he is silent about the legends of the amours of Krishna with which these are at present associated. This is significant. It may however be said that the Poet does not do so for avoiding anachronism. He has been dealing with the incidents of the Treta Yuga and not with those of the Dvapara Yuga in which Krishna flourished. Still if the places had become as famous as they were later on for their association with Krishna and Radha and other Gopinis, means would not have been wanting to this master of the literary art for mentioning them. We know that the legend of the war between Krishna and Kamsa is very old (see p 303). The Poet himself refers in the song of the second herald to the story of Krishna's taking away his future wife Rukmini by force (M M—Act V—14). Further there is a reference to Krishna in the line वहैणेव स्फुरितरुचिना गोपवेशस्य विष्णो (M D—I-15, — as the dark body of Vishnu or Krishna, who has put on the dress of a cowherd, looks bright and beautiful with the variegated peacock feathers on his head, so the dark cloud looks when it is fringed with the magnificent colours of the rainbow).

The amours of S'iva and Parvatī described in the eighth canto of Kumarasambhavam imply on the one hand the interaction of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa¹ (K S—

1 Of course this is not strictly the Sāṃkhya doctrine in which "Puruṣa" means individual souls.

II—7 and 13) or Nature and the Universal Soul and on the other hand of Jivatma and Paramatma or the individual and Universal souls, which precluded the Rādhakrishna cult of a later age

Though Kālīkādevī looking like a blue cloud and having human skulls as ornaments is mentioned as following the sixteen Mātrikas in the marriage procession of Śiva (K S—VII—39) and though the Poet's name signifies that he is 'a devoted servant of Kālī,' yet the worship of the goddess is not referred to in his works. It appears that Kālī worship became popular in a later age when the Tantras were composed

The gods generally worshipped were Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Pārvatī, Lakṣmī, Kūṭikeya, Indra, Varuṇa, Sun and Moon. Pururava, Apsaras and sages are sun-worshippers (V V I 1 and IV 4, K S VIII 41). Pururava prays also to and his queen worships the Moon (V V—III—27 and 84). Some of the gods like Śiva, Pārvatī, Kūṭikeya and Kuvera were supposed to have their abodes on the Himalayas. Though respect was paid to all gods, yet there was one god, who was one's *Ishtadevata*, the god most cherished, as *Maheshvara* or Śiva was of our Poet. Learned men like him could realise that though different men worship different *Ishtadevatas*, all worship leads to the same goal. So though Śiva was the Poet's *Ishtadevata*, he was regarded as one of the three aspects of the Supreme Being and not superior to either Brahmā or Viṣṇu—the three being really one. So there is intrinsic similarity between his hymns to Śiva at the beginning of several of his works and in the sixth canto of *Kumārasambhava* (15 to 24) and those

addressed to Brahmā (K S —II—4 to 15) and to Vishnu (R V —X—15 to 32) No hymn to the Great God surpasses in its religious ardour and elevation the invocation of the lesser gods to Vishnu for the suppression of Ravana, the incarnation of the sin and misery of the world, of which we give only a few extracts though the whole is worth study—

ममो विश्वसृजे पूर्वं विश्वं तदनु विभूते ।
अथ विश्वस्य सहस्रं तुभ्यं सेवा स्थितात्मने ॥

सर्वं ज्ञस्त्वमविज्ञात सर्वं योनिस्त्वमात्मभू ।
सर्वं प्रभुरनीशस्त्वमेकस्त्व सर्वं रूपभाक् ॥

भजस्य गृह्यतो जन्म निरीहस्य हतद्विष ।
स्वपतो जागरुकस्य याथार्थ्यं वेदकस्तव ॥

बहुधापगागमैर्भिक्षा पन्थान सिद्धिहेतव ।
त्वयेऽव निपतन्तप्रोधा जाह्नवीया इषार्णवे ॥
त्वय्यावेक्षितचित्ताना त्वत्समर्पितकर्मणाम् ।
गतिस्त्व कीतरागाणमभूय सन्निवृत्तये ॥

डदधेरिव रत्नानि तेजासीव विवस्वत ।
स्तुतिभयो वयतिरिच्यन्ते दूराणि चरितानि ते ॥
अनन्यसमवाप्तव्यं न ते किञ्चन विद्यते ।
लोकानुग्रह एवैको हेतुस्ते जन्मकर्मणो ॥
महिमान यदुत्कीर्त्तय तव सद्भिद्यते वच ।
शूमेण तद्रक्षत्कृपा वा न गुणानामिन्ततश्च ॥

(স্মজন কবিয়া বিশ্ব কবিছ পালন ,
তমোগুণে পুনঃ প্রভু কবিছ সংহাব ,
সৃষ্টি, স্থিতি, প্রলয়েব অথগু কাবণ ,
ত্রিগুণে অসীম তোমা কবি নমস্কার ।

...
সর্বজ্ঞানময় তুমি, অজ্ঞাত সবার,
বিশ্বেব জৈশ্বব, প্রভু অনীশ আপনি ,
এক হ'য়ে সর্বরূপ স্বরূপ তোমার,
তুমি হে জগতযোনি, স্বয়ম্ভু অধোনি ।

.
অবতার-রূপে, অজ, জনম তোমাব,
নিরীহ হইয়া অরি কবিছ সংহার,
যোগে নিমগন, তবু সদা জাগরিত,
কে জানে তোমার তত্ত্ব জ্ঞানের অতীত ?

জাহ্নবীর শত শত প্রবাহ যেমতি,
ভিন্ন পথে বহি শেষে গশে পারাবার,
নানা শাস্ত্রে নানারূপ সাধন-পদ্ধতি
আসে তথা ভিন্ন পথে চরণে তোমার ।

বিষয়-বিরাগ-মতি ঘেই বতিগণ
যোগবলে নিজ চিত্ত নিবোধি তোমার,
সর্ববর্ষ্য তবপ্রতি করে সমর্পণ,
মোক্ষগতি পায় তাবা তোমারি কুণার ।

...

. .

...

বাক্য-মন অগোচর চৰিত তোমাব,
 কার সাধ্য স্তুতি বাক্যে কবিরে প্রচাব ?
 কে বর্ণিবে কত জ্যোতি ধবেন ভাস্কর,
 কে জানে কতই বহু ধবে বদ্ধাকর ?
 কি আছে অগরু কিম্বা অপ্রাপ্য তোমাব ?
 নিত্য পবিত্র, প্রভু বিশ্বের আধাব ,
 জনম কবম ৩৬ কবিছ গ্রহণ
 কেবল লোকের হিত কবিত্তে সাধন ।
 অসীম মহিমা, তব করিতে কীর্তন
 অক্ষয় গায়ক, কান্ত হই শ্রমভবে ,
 কুবায় সঙ্গীত শ্রোত, না চলে বটন,
 অনন্ত তোমাব গুণ কে বর্ণিতে পাবে ?)—N D

(Hail they cried
 Threesfold yet One who first didst all things frame,
 Upholdest now and wilt at last destroy !

All unknown,
 All knowing , womb of all things, sprung from none,
 Supreme Thou know'st no ruler, one yet manifold !

Unborn, yet taking flesh ,
 Not seeking triumph, thou dost smite thy foes,
 Thou sleep'st, yet watchest ever who can tell
 Thy being's truth ?

The ways of Bliss,
 Diversely shown and taught, all lead to Thee,
 As Gang's parted streams seek ocean's breast.

Who fix their hearts on Thee, and trust to thee,
 All working, free from lust,—these find in Thee
 That happy way which none need travel more,

Yet as Ocean far

Outshines the gems he hides as o'er his rays
 The sun shines glorious, so Thy greatness, Lord,
 Transcends our halting praise! Nor want hast thou
 Nor aught allures thee. Birth thou tak'st and Toil,
 That through the worlds salvation may be wrought!
 Here cease we from Thy praise, exhausted weak;
 Thou art exhaustless, boundless spreads Thy might!)

—P.D.L.J. .

Conclusion.

*"Where find a Soul that does not thrill
In Ka lida'sa's verse to meet
The smooth, inevitable lines
Like blossom clusters, honey-sweet?"*¹

Two things are necessary for the production of a genuine artistic masterpiece—genius and favourable surroundings, the absence of either of which proves a serious handicap. The age of Pericles in Athens, that of Augustus in Italy, that of Elizabeth in England and that of the Guptas in Northern India, were beyond doubt congenial environments, on account of the accession of wealth, of glory incident to territorial or colonial expansion and famous victories, of preparedness of material (in the present case of language), of readiness of patronage and above all, of a new relish for life. In India as in England, there was an additional and a potent factor in the shape of religion. The relentless persecution of the Protestants by Mary in England, and the suppression of several important sacrifices like Asvamedha by the Buddhist sovereigns in India, though not capable of destroying either Protestantism or Brahmanism, were yet effective in checking their zealous manifestation. With the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth in

England and with the ascendancy of the Gupta Emperors and their subjection of non Hindu potentates in Northern India, the new Protestantism in one case and the new Brahmanism in the other permeated more or less all the strata of society, and writers rose as champions of the creed which had obtained a fresh lease of vigorous life Kalidasa's works bear indubitable testimony to the fact that they were composed during the ascendancy of Varnasramadharma and of its royal patrons, and at a time when Sciences and Art, Philosophy and Literature had attained a high degree of development and when the people wanted to make the most of their material resources

We have so long proceeded on the assumption that Kalidasa was born about 385 A.D., that he in accordance with the poetic convention of his time composed the lyric Ritusamhara in the region of the Vindhya¹, when he was, say, eighteen years old, that

1 Malwa Kashmir and Bengal have been contending with one another for the honour of being regarded as the birth place of Kālidāsa. Recently Professor L. D. Kalla of St Stephen's College Delhi, has fixed upon Māyāgram in Kāshmir as the place of his birth. His inference is based chiefly on—(1) The Pratyabhijnāna Philosophy of Kāshmir which he finds in almost all the works of the Poet. The Professor even believes that Abhijnāna-Sakuntalam is an allegory of this system of Philosophy. Dushmanta according to him is Śiva (God) and Śakuntalā his Śakti (Energy). The individual soul or jiva, within which Śiva limits himself, forgets temporarily his Śakti and, cannot recognise her without the aid of some potent means. So Dushmanta forgets Sakuntalā for the time being and recollects her by means of the signet ring and becomes reunited with her. (2) कुम्भोदर नाम निकुम्भमिक्ष (R. V.—II 35) in connexion

he presented himself at the court of Chandrgupta II surnamed Vikramaditya (380—415) about 405, when he was in his twentieth year that he remained on the best of terms with him till the end of his reign and that he finished under his auspices his *Malavikāgnimitram*, began his epic *Kumarasambhavam* and his drama *Vikramorvasī*, both of which show the unrestrained love and ardour of a youthful temperament in the closing years of his reign. *Kumarasambhavam* or the epic dealing with the birth of the Kumara or the Kartikeya, the god of war and the ally of Mahendia, refers to the birth of Chandragupta II's son Kumaragupta I (415—455) who was styled Mahendraditya. Chandragupta II is introduced in the *Raghuvamsam* in the persons of Raghu and the Emperor of Magadha, Kumaragupta in those of Aja, the king of Avantī and Kusā, and his son Skandagupta in that of Atithi. *Vikramorvasī* has two meanings—(1) the nymph *Urvasī* won from the demon *Kesī* by the *vikrama* or valour of the king *Pururavas* and (2) the love between the king *Vikrama* (abbreviation of *Vikra*

with the illusion created by *Surabhi's* daughter to test *Dilīpa's* devotion refers according to the Professor to the *Kāshmiran* legend of *Nikumbha*, a powerful and righteous *Pisācha*. (3) The *Apsara stīrthā* (A S—VII—159), the *Saptarshitīrtha* (K S—I—16), the *Brāhmam Saras* (R V—XIII—60), the *Somatīrtha* (A S—I—74), the *Vaishthāsrama* (R V—I and II) and several other sacred places have been identified by him as situated in *Kāshmir*. *Kasyapa* is said to be the founder of *Kashmir* and his *Asrama* (A S—VII) naturally is located by the Professor in this province.

It is just possible that the Poet became acquainted with those places and even with the legends and the philosophical doctrine

maditya) and the nymph Urvasī. The fifth act of Vikramorvasī which describes the inauguration of A'ýus as Yuvaraja or heir-apparent distinctly refers to a similar ceremony, which must have been performed during the latter part of the reign of Chandragupta II. The first Vaitalika or herald says that A'ýus who is called kumara or prince is the worthy son of Pururavas (Chandragupta II surnamed Vikramaditya) noted for his vikrama or valour, as Pururavas is of Budha (Samudragupta), and as Budha is of Chandra or Moon (Chandragupta I). Then Narada says that Pururava's selection of his son as his heir apparent reminds him of the investiture by Indra of Kumara or Kṛtikeya as the general of the celestial army. Dr Keith says that the introduction of A'ýus has spoiled the beauty of the last act of Vikramorvasī.¹ Kālidāsa has done it deliberately to honour his patron Kumaragupta. Similarly the Poet describes in detail the coronation of Skandagupta under the semblance of the installation of Atithi after his father Kumaragupta's death (R V -XVII-8 to 37).

in the course of his pilgrimage. His birthplace does not much matter, as the Professor says 'His (Kālidāsa's) literary career began and ended outside Kāshmir. Kālidāsa left his home in Kāshmir for good by sheer necessity or spirit of enterprise and won his fame outside Kāshmir'. But we cannot agree with the Professor when he says that 'all his (the Poet's) learning was derived from Kāshmir'. Does the Professor want to suggest that one's knowledge is solely or mainly derived from the books one reads during one's student life? (See also Chapter IV).

I 'The incident of the boy A'ýus is forced and the ending of the of the drama ineffective and flat'—S D, p 156

That gratitude was one of the Poet's eminent characteristics is proved by his sincere affection and regard for his patron Chandragupta II. Even after his death, the Poet bestows on him some of the finest verses ever composed by him—असौ शरण्यं पुष्पपुराङ्गना-
नाम् (see p 85). The first epithet with which the Poet introduces his Imperial Patron is 'असौ शरण्यं शरणोन्मुखानां'—'the (great) Refuge of all seeking protection'. We see the poor and helpless Bard, who has written his *Ritusamhara* according to the convention of the age, present himself as a suppliant at the brilliant court of Chandragupta at Ujjayini with verses made specially in his honour, and we behold also the gracious Emperor receive with ardent cordiality and promise of life long patronage the hitherto-neglected Poet, whose verses, composed later on under the auspices of him and his successors, would contribute more than their achievements recorded in brick and stone to their immortality.

Kālidāsa continued as a court-poet during the whole of the reign of Kumāragupta and finished *Kumārasambhavam* up to its eighth canto, the remaining portion of *Vikramorvasī* and his touching lyric *Meghadutam* and began his celebrated epic, *Raghuvamsam* and his best drama *Abhijnana-Sākuntalam*, both the works of his mature genius.

Skandagupta (455—470) the conqueror of the *Pushyamitras* and the repeller of the Huns, who was also surnamed *Vikramaditya* and *Kramaditya*, accorded to the old Poet, whose fame had spread over the whole of his empire, the same respect and favour

as had been done by his father and grandfather, the glory of whose courts had been enhanced by his genius. The Poet finished his *Sákuntala*, which was enacted before the court of the second *Vikramāditya* as is borne out by the introduction of the famous play (see pp 3 and 326)

The Poet realised that with his advancing years his powers were declining and so he finished his *Raghuvams'am* and *Kumarasambhavam* in hot haste. The reason why he at first wrote only the first eight cantos of the latter and did not finish it, might be that he himself was disgusted with its prolixity or adverse criticism, or more probably because he wanted to begin his more important works. It is also probable that he employed for its completion on account of his illness, which terminated in his death, another poet who worked under his supervision. Though the last nine cantos of *Kumarasambhava* evince inferior workmanship, still they form an essential part of the epic poem, since they deal with the birth of the *Kunira* and his successful war with demon *Taraka*, the enemy of *Indra*, for which the war god has been born. The fact that *Raghuvams'am* ends abruptly with the death of the licentious King *Agnivarna* of the *Raghu* line renders probable the supposition that the Poet had been overtaken by a fatal illness, before he could finish his epic master-piece. He died about 460 A D in his seventyfifth year, as there is no reference in his works to any memorable event after that date. The desire most cherished by the great Poet in the last years of his life has been expressed

in the last verse of his Abhijnāna—Sakuntalam—
 अयसंता आत्मन् (see p 363) ‘Let kings strive for
 their subjects’ well-being, let the cultured be the
 patrons of learning, and let the Almighty Self existent
 Śiva by preventing my rebirth enable me to attain
 salvation” It appears that the Poet now settled
 comfortably in life like Shakespeare after his return
 to Stratford simply desired that his works might be
 welcomed by the learned and that the Great God
 might help him in the attainment of emancipation—
 the highest end of human existence But the conclud-
 ing lines of Vikramoivasī composed much earlier
 like the twentieth verse of the sixth canto of
 Raghuvamsam refer to the inherent antagonism
 between learning and wealth and indicate that
 Kalidasa felt for sometime at least the keenness of
 poverty, though it might be the “source of human
 art and great inspirer of the poet’s song”¹

Mr Ryder thus concludes his sketch of the Poet’s
 character—“His nature was one of singular balance,
 equally at home in a splendid court and on a lonely
 mountain, with men of high and of low degree Such
 men are never fully appreciated during life They
 continue to grow after they are dead”²

That his fame was firmly established by A D 473
 is proved by Vatsabhatti’s inscription of that date,
 and that it began to grow with the passing of time
 is established by the Ayhole inscription of 634 A D ,

1 E Moore

2 T K R —p XIII

by Banabhatta's eulogy on him in his life of Harshavardhana (pp 36 and 470) and by other testimonies

The different readings of several passages of his works and the different recensions of Meghadutam, Vikramorvas'ī and Abhijñāna-Sakuntalam prove their revision by the Poet during his life-time and also their interpolation after his death. The four principal recensions (Bengali, Devanagari, Kashmiri and South Indian) of Śakuntalā are due according to Dr Keith to the great popularity of the play¹

It is very difficult to determine from his works all the details of his life, but regarding some of them we are almost certain. That the centre of his activities was Ujjayinī or some place near it, and that he was one of the ornaments of the court of Chandragupta II, surnamed Vikramāditya, who established it at Ujjayinī after his conquest of Malwa and Surashtra, are evident from his Ritusamhara, Meghaduta and other works. His works also establish the fact that he was well versed in the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and Puranas and the extant Kāvyas and Nāṭakas, for example, those of Asvaghosha and Bhāsa and in Grammars and treatises on Rhetoric and Prosody. He knew very well Vātsyāna's Kamasūtras. It is difficult to say anything definitely about his moral character from the erotic passages in his works, because we do not know to what extent they may be attributed to the rules laid down in this treatise and the poetic custom of his time. The remarks of Mr Saintsbury on Shakespeare's character may be applied

to Kālidāsa with some qualification, "The ugly and artistically unmanageable situation of the husband who trades in his wife's honour simply does not occur in all the wide licence and variety of Shakespeare's forty plays. He is in his own sense liberal as the most easy going demand, *but he never mixes vice and virtue*"¹

Kālidāsa's knowledge of Indian Geography displayed in the description of the Himalayas in his *Kumārasambhavam*, of Central India and the Himalayas in his *Meghadutam*, and of almost the whole of India in connexion with his narration of Rāma's return to his capital from Ceylon and of Raghū's conquests in his *Raghuvamsam* excites our admiration. It is probable that it was due to his extensive travels for his pilgrimage to sacred places in course of which he was able to observe accurately man and nature, and also to the accounts given to him by the soldiers, who accompanied Samudragupta and Chandragupta II in their famous expeditions. He was familiar with the three capitals of the Gupta Emperors—Ujjayīni, Saketa or Ayodhya, and Kusumapura or Pataliputra situated on the junction of the Ganges and the boisterous Sonā (R V—VII—36). He was well acquainted besides the towns of Malwa such as Vidisa (Bhilsa) and Dasapura (Mandasor), with Prayāga (R V—XIII 58), the capital of Anga (Bhagalpur—R V—VI—27), Mahishmati (Mandhatī) on the Narmadā (R V—VI—43), Sūrasena or Mathura Vrindavana (R V—VI

—45 to 51), the capital of Kalinga (R V—VI—53 to 57), Uragapura (the capital of the Pandyas—Urichinopoly—Uraiyur—R V—VI—59) and Gokarna (R V—VIII—33) on the sea near Goa celebrated for the temple of Mahes'vara. But he is silent in his works about one of the most important and ancient cities of Northern India—namely Kasi or Banasi. 'At the beginning of the historical period, the kingdom of Kas' lost its independence and was annexed by Kos'ali,'¹ 'Its capital later on became the scene of Buddha's earliest public preaching and one of the most sacred spots in Buddhist church history'² It has acquired the name of Varanasi because it stands on the junction of the Varuna and Asi with the Ganges. In the seventh century A D' Sankaracharya made it the centre of Saiva religion. When H. Sang visited the place sometime after, he found here both Hinduism and Buddhism claiming a large number of adherents. Kalidasa's silence regarding Benares is to be ascribed to the same reason which led him to omit Sanchi, though he mentions Vidisa, situated very close to it (See p 159). He, however, mentions Queen Ausinari as Kas'irajaduhita or the daughter of the king of Kas' (V V—II—2).

The Poet's extensive travels and his life at the courts of emperors acquainted him with what would add to the comforts of life. The house of an aristocrat according to him should resemble in the main those at Alaka, the capital of the God of Wealth. It should have several stories with mosaic floors painted walls

and a variegated torana or gateway. In summer the rooms should be cooled by artificial fountains and some of the rooms should be surrounded by water. A tank full of lotuses with steps of coloured stone should adjoin it. In the compound of the house there should be a pleasure-hill surrounded by plantain trees and an arbour containing among others the red Asoka, Vakula, Sahakara, Madhavi, Kuruvaka and other flower plants. Tame dancing peacocks, speaking parrots, pictures, crystals hanging from the ceiling cloth, music and beautiful inmates should add to the amenities of the mansion (M D —II—1 to 20, see also p p 460—1)

It would be strange if a genius like Kalidasa would not assimilate during his prolonged residence at Ujjayini something of Astronomy and Astrology for which the city had been famous from the earliest times. He knew that Day and Night succeed each other in accordance with the rotation of the Earth round its axis (passing through the Poles)—मेरोरुपान्तेष्विव वर्तमान मनोनेयससकमहस्त्रियामम् (K S —VII—79), that the Moon when joined by the brilliant and beautiful star Chitra (Spica Virginis) on Chaitra Purnimā at the end of the Winter and at the approach of Spring looks beautiful—हिमनिर्मुक्तयोर्गो विद्याचन्द्रमसोरिव (R V —I—46), and that the heat of the Sun decreases when it proceeds south after the summer solstice (about the 22nd June)—दिशि मन्दायते तेजो दक्षिणस्या रवेरपि (R V —IV—49) Dakṣināyana or the Sun's apparent progress towards the south is also referred to in R V VIII 33. He knew that heat and consequently evaporation begin to increase, when the Sun proceeds north after the winter solstice (about the 22nd

December)—तत् प्रतस्थे कोवेरी भास्वान् उच्चै उदीयमान्
 रसान् उद्धरिष्यन् (R V—IV 66), that the months of Chaitra
 and Vis'akha (from the middle of March to that of
 May—Spring) being introduced by the (apparent)
 motion of the Sun, look beautiful—रेजतुर्गतिवशात् प्रवर्त्तिष्यौ
 भास्करस्य मधुमाचवावि (R V—XI—7) that the brilliance
 of the Moon increases and that of the Sun decreases at
 the time of p 1 vana (Opposition) at evening—दिनात्मये
 पार्द्वणौ शशिदिवाकरावि (R V—XI—82), that the Sun
 proceeds south in the course of his residence in the signs
 of the zodiac corresponding to the rainy sea son, after
 the Summer Solstice—दक्षिणा दिशमृक्षेषु वाचिकेष्विव भास्कर
 (R V—XII—25), that the ice of the Himalayas
 thaws, when the Sun leaving the side of the Equator,
 which is marked by or associated with Agastya
 (Canopus)—अगस्त्यचिह्नादयनात् (R V—XVI—44—or from
 the point of the Ecliptic which is furthest south from
 the Equator)—proceeds northwards after the Winter
 Solstice, that when the star Agastya (Canopus) rises
 (in Autumn, on the 17th or 18th of Bh dia), turbid
 water becomes clear—तस्याविकाम्भ परिशुद्धिहेतोर्भौमीमुने
 (R V XIII—36), that the king should set out on
 expeditions when the star Agastya rises (at the be
 ginning of Autumn) and turbid water becomes clear—
 प्रससादोदयादम्भ कुम्भयोनेर्महौजस (R V—IV—21), that the
 Moon looks beautiful, when it is near the star
 Vis'akha (of the 16th Lunar Asterism—in April and
 May—Spring—V V—I—52), that the Moon looks
 exceedingly beautiful when it is near the star Rohini
 (Aldebaran)—रोहिणीसयोगेन अधिक शोभते भगवान् मृगशिरा
 (Sanskritised Prakrit—V V—III—74) that on the

expiry of the Parva or Amavasya the Moon comes away from the Sun, i.e. after Conjunction the Moon proceeds towards Opposition—**पर्वान्तपथे सोम इषोष्णरश्मे** (R V—VII—33), that the Eclipse of the Moon occurs only on Parva days (Purnima—Full Moon—Opposition)—**अपर्वणि ग्रहकुलेन्दुमण्डला विभावरी कथय कथ भविष्यति** (M M—IV—174), that (when the Sun is) below the horizon (**लोकालोक पर्वत , चक्रवाल**), there is darkness, and above light—**प्रकाशश्चाप्रकाशश्च लोकालोक इवाचल** (R V—I—68), that autumnal nights are brightened by the Polar Star (**ध्रुव**) and the shining stars that follow it (R V—XVII—35), that the Moon looks beautiful when conjoined with Budha (Mercury) and Bṛhaspati (Jupiter—R V—XIII—76), that the Punarvasu (two stars of the fifth or seventh Lunar Mansion) look very beautiful to which the Poet compares Rāma and Lakshman (R V—XI—36), and that the Sun appears to rest or be motionless for a while at midday (**तिष्ठतेऽक्षणमधिपतिर्ज्योतिषा वयोममथेय**—V V—II—13)

The Poet was also versed in Astrology (**फलित ज्योतिष**) He knew that when one sets out on an expedition one takes care to avoid the direction occupied by Śukra (Venus)—because even a formidable monarch is likely to be worsted, if he does not do so—**पुर शुक्रमिव प्रयाणे** (K S—III—43), and that marriage rites should begin on a day in the bright fortnight (lit, during the growth of the king of herbs) rendered auspicious by the presence of Yamitra (from Greek diemition)—**अथैषधीनामधिपस्य वृद्धौ, तिथौ च यामित्रगुणान्वितायाम्** (K S—VII—1) There is Yamitrabedha, when a papagraha or a wicked planet like Mars (**मङ्गल**), Saturn (**शनि**) etc., is

at the seventh position from the sign of the zodiac occupied by the Moon at the time of marriage Yūmīrabedha becomes auspicious for marriage in exceptional circumstances. The Poet was aware that the toilet of the bride should commence at the moment which is presided over by the star Anuradha (D Scorpionis) and at which the Moon joins Uttarāṣṭamī (B Leonis)—मैत्रे मुहूर्ते शशलाञ्छनेन योग गतासूत्तरफल्गुनीषु (K S —VII—6) 'Maitra' means Anuradha (the 17th Star in the Zodiac). It is so called because its presiding deity is Mitra or the Sun. Maitra muhūrta is the third muhūrta from the rise of the Sun *i.e.*, 96 minutes after sun rise, a muhūrta being a period of 48 minutes. He was not ignorant of the fact that the most auspicious moment of one's birth is when five planets occupy the highest positions in the sky—the apexes of their orbits, and are at the maximum distance from the Sun—ग्रहेस्त पञ्चभिरुच्चस्थैरसूर्यगै सूचितभाग्यसम्पदम् (R V —III—33), the term *uchcha* being derived, according to European Scholars, from *L aus=apex*, that the moment (two dandas or 48 minutes before sunrise) presided over by Brahma is auspicious for birth (R V —V—36), and that the retrograde motion of Mars (मङ्गल) in any sign of the zodiac (*e.g.*, Aries) is unfavourable—यावद्भारको राशिमिव सा अनुवक्रम् न करोति (Sanskritised Prakrit—M M —III—174)—“Lest Iravati should return like the planet Mars”, which when it turns back towards you is more unfavourable than when it has turned back from you ”¹

He was not ignorant of the science of Physics. He

believed in the intimate connexion between the cause and effect—

उदेति पूर्वं कुसुम, तत फल , वनोदय प्राक्, तदनन्तर पय ।

निमित्तनैमित्तिकयोरय क्रमस्तव प्रसादस्य पुरस्तु सम्पद ॥

—A V—VII—154

(First appears the flower then the fruit, first the rising of the cloud, then the rain, this is always the order of the cause and effect, but prosperity precedes the blessings of gods like you) He knew that the Moon is lighted by the rays of the Sun (R V—III—22), that rain bearing clouds are produced by the evaporation of water by the sun's rays (K S—IV—44, R V—XIII—4, XVII—72) and are composed of water, heat and light, smoke and air (M D—I—5) He knew that clouds become lighter after they have discharged their water (M D—I—13, 19) He was aware that the Moon exerts its influence on tides (R V—III—17, V—61, X—82, XII—36 and K S—III—67), that the rainbow is associated with water-bearing clouds (R V—XI—13), that the water of the Ganges and Sarayu is cooled by the melting of the Himalayan icecap (R V—XIV—3, XVI—44), and that the cloud is the source of the soothing rain and also of the destructive thunder (K S—IV—43) He knew that Magnets (अयस्कान्त) attract iron (K S—II—59, R V—XVII—63) that water laden air soaks mirrors (R V—XIV—37), that an arable land being burnt with fuel becomes fertile (R V—IX—80), that pieces of iron can be welded together, only when they are made red-hot (V V—II—117), and that a drop of oil covers a large expanse of waves (R V,—XIV—38)

That Kalidasa was versed in Music appears from his appropriate use of musical terms, e g, तान (tone, keynote—K S—I—8), वितन्त्री (discordant because the strings are not properly tuned, K S—I—45), सूक्ष्मना (a regulated rise or fall of sounds through the grama or musical scale—M D—II-25 मध्यमस्वर (the middle or dominant note—neither too high, nor too low—M M I—152), मार्जना (पुष्कर वादनाविशेष of a particular musical sound produced by Pushkara or one of the faces of the Mridanga—ibid) मायूरी (मयूरप्रिया रागिणी—a particular modification of the musical mode of राग of which peacocks are fond—ibid), and सुदन्तिगीत—a melodious song well accompanied on the lute or arising from a musical instrument, the strings of which are well arranged and skilfully handled—R S—Summer—3)

That the Poet was not ignorant of the arts of singing, dancing and dramatic acting is evident from his statement that Dance should be sattvika or should reflect the feelings vachika or should be in accordance with the words uttered, and angika or should be accompanied with appropriate gestures and postures, as laid down by Bharata, author of the Nāṭyaśāstra (R V—XIX—36) This is also evident from what he makes Ganadisa say regarding dancing (M M—I-28)—viz that dancing is of two kinds, tandava of males and lasya of females, that it is capable of exhibiting the different kinds of sentiments (रस), character and conduct produced by the three principles—sattva, rajas and tamas Ganadisa says to Vakulavalika that he has instructed Malavika in the five limb action (पञ्चाङ्गाधिकमभिनय—M M—I—37), that

is, in dramatic gestures and postures in which the five limbs—two legs, two hands and the head—take part. The Poet makes Haradatta distinguish between the theory (शास्त्र) and its application (प्रयोग)—M M—I—74. The Parivrajikā remarks that dramatic art (which includes dancing) depends mainly on its practical application—प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाट्यशास्त्रम् (M M—I—99), and later on after her seeing and hearing Malavikā's dancing and singing, that—

अङ्गैरन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितसमग्रार्थः ।

पादनयासौ लयमुपगतस्तन्मयत्वं रमेसु ।

शास्त्राद्योनिर्मूर्तदूरभिनयस्तद्विकल्पानुवृत्तौ ।

आनन्दो भावस्तुदतिविषयाद्रागबन्धस एव ॥

—(M M—II—24)

(When she has been silent, her gestures and postures have fully expressed her thoughts and feelings, the movements of her feet have kept time, the sentiments she wants to express have engrossed her completely, the movements of her hands in acting have been gentle and not violent, and in different kinds of dramatic imitation appropriate bodily movements, expressive of different emotions following one another in quick succession have constituted a vivid and attractive picture of a series of passions. The following verse of Kumāra Sambhavam (see p 233) is highly significant —

तौ सन्निवृत्तौ वञ्चितवृत्तिभेदः, रसान्तरेषु प्रतिबद्धरागम् ।

अपञ्चप्रतामप्सरसा मुहूर्त्तं, प्रयोगमादयन् ललिताङ्गहारम् ॥ (VII—91)

In the play enacted by Nymphs before Siva and

Uma on the occasion of their marriage, (1) the dramatic style (वृत्ति) varied in accordance with the critical juncture or moment (सन्धि—they are five in number see p 314)—there are four vrittis, viz, Kaus'iki or Kaus'iki for erotic sentiment, S'atvati for heroic sentiment, A'rabhati for the sentiments of fury and hatred, and Bh'arati for all sentiments), (2) R'agas (musical modes) changed as rasas or sentiments changed, e.g., the masculine raga is suited to the sentiments of fury, wonder and heroism, the feminine to those of love, laughter and pathos, and the neuter to those of terror, hatred and quiet), and (3) the gestures and postures of the actresses were appropriate and charming

The Poet was also acquainted with the theory of teaching which he puts in the mouth of Kau'siki—**शिष्टा एन** (M M—I—108, see p 438) Again he says in A S—IV—46—**संस्कृतोऽपि प्रकृतः—सुविषयपरिज्ञा** इव विद्या अशोचनीया स बुद्धा (Knowledge imparted to a good pupil does not cause repentance) A similar idea occurs in M M—I—35—**पात्रविशेषे नयस्त गुणान्तरं व्रजति शिल्पमाधातु** (An art imparted to a proper pupil improves itself) The following remark of the Poet is full of meaning—**विनेतुरद्वयपरिग्रहोऽपि बुद्धिर्लाघवं प्रकाशयति** (M M—I—113—The teaching of the dullard sharpens the intellect of the teacher) He remarks on the readiness of Raghu to assimilate instruction—**क्रिया हि वस्तूपहिता प्रसीदति** (Efforts directed towards proper objects seldom fail—R V—III—29) He makes Ganadisa say that instruction is good only when it stands the test in the presence of wise men, as gold is tested by means of

fire (उपदेश अग्निसु—M M—I—28) and also that knowledge is to be esteemed for its own sake—यस्यागम केवलजीविकायै, त ज्ञानपण्य वणिज वदन्ति (M M—I—116—He is a trader in learning who uses it only for earning his livelihood)

That Kalidasa was versed in Politics is evident from the many political precepts with which his works are interspersed. Several of these occur in the seventeenth canto of Raghuvamsam, where he describes the administration of Atithi (see p p 127-295). Enthusiasm associated with a sound policy leads to prosperity (K S—I—22)—समग्रप्रयोगादपरिक्षताया नीता-विदोत्साहगुणेन सम्पत् Mountains when bereft by Indra of wings, flee to the sea, as kings in misfortune to their allies (K S—I—20). A similar idea is conveyed by—नृपा इवोपप्लविन परेभ्यो, धर्मीत्तर मध्यममाश्रयन्ते (R V—XIII—7)—(The Mountains who were humbled by Indra took shelter in the ocean) as kings harassed by their foes flee to a virtuous neutral chief for refuge. A foe newly established on his throne can be deposed soon—

अधिराधिष्ठित राज्ञः क्षुद्रं प्रकृतिष्वरुदमूलत्वात् ।

नवस रोपणशिल्पिस्तद्विव सुकरं समुद्धर्तुम् ॥

(M M—I—47)

(As a newly-planted tree, the roots of which are loose, can be easily eradicated so the newly acquired kingdom of an enemy, which has not as yet been able to send down its roots among the people, i.e., not been able as yet to win their affection and regard, can be easily conquered) Policy made use of at the

opportune moment bears fruit—**काळे खलु समारब्धा फळ
ब्रह्मन्ति नीतय** —(R V—XII—6J) Victory is with those
who attack the weak points of the enemy—**समुखीनो
हि जयो रन्ध्रप्रहरिणाम्** (R V—XV—17) Atithi conceals
his own weak point, but assails those of the enemy
(R V—XVII—61)

The Poet believed in the law of heredity Family
qualities, according to him, are minute in the begin-
ning and attain their full development with the advance
of age, as is the case with Sudar'sana—**वक्ष्यागुणा खल्वपि
लोककान्ता प्रारम्भसूक्ष्मा प्रथिमानमाणु** (R V—XVIII 49)

Kalidasa's Philosophy was eclectic It was derived
like that of the Bhagavad-Gita from at least three
different systems—Samkhya, Yoga and Vedanta His
belief in the reality of previous births or lives is mani-
fest in his reference to the **प्राक्तजन्मविद्या** (knowledge
acquired in a former life) of Uma (K S—I—30) to
sages enjoying the pure fruits of the austerities of their
previous lives (K S—VI—10) to **प्राक्तस स्कार** (habits
acquired in a previous life) mentioned in connexion
with Dilipa's secret policy (R V—I—20), to Sudar-
sana's **पूर्वं जन्मान्तरदुष्टपारा विद्या** (knowledge mastered in
a previous life—R V—XVIII—50), to the Mind's
being—**जन्मान्तरसङ्गतिज्ञम्** (aware of union in a previous
life) in connexion with Indumati's selection of Aja as
her husband (R V—VII—15), to the attachments of
previous births indicated by undefined longings at the
sight of beautiful objects or at the hearing of sweet
sounds—**रमयाणि लोहद्वानि**—A S—V—25 see p 356),
and to the deeds of a previous life, which though tend-
ing to make one miserable at present, would be product-

ive of happiness at the end (Sanskritised Prakrit—
सुचरितप्रतिबन्धक परिणामसुख पुराकृत—A S —VII—128)

He refers to the naturalness of the separation of the soul from the body in Vasishtha's advice to Aja on the occasion of his great bereavement (R V —VIII—87 and 89) The above verses beginning with मरण प्रकृति शरीरिणा and स्वशरीरशरीरिणावपि resemble closely that beginning with जातस्य हि भ्रुवो मृतुः—(Bhagavadgītā—II—27)

He refers to the law of Karma, freedom from which leads to salvation in कर्मबन्धच्छिद धर्मं भवसेवव सुसुधव (such good deeds as shall cut worldly ties—liability to rebirth—of salvation desiring men —K S —II—51) and to different men treading different paths in the next world according to their deeds in this life and so there being no likelihood of their reunion—परलोकजुषा स्वकर्मभिर्गतयो भिन्नपथा हि देहिनाम् (R V —VIII—85) He says that the blessing of Atithi by the pleased Brahmins could not find any room for manifestation, because all space was occupied by the good deeds of his previous lives (R V —XVII—18) This belief in the law of Karma and in rebirth caused by this almost inexorable law is the common property of all the systems of Hindu Philosophy except that of the materialistic Charvaka The Poet refers to धर्मं or good deeds as efficacious in breaking the fetters of *karma* He also mentions true knowledge as necessary for conquering the allurements of the senses—सयमी तत्त्वज्ञानेन इन्द्रियाख्यान् विपून् इव (R V —IV 60)

There is a reference to Mahes'vara's Virsana attitude, his checking of breath (वायुनिरोध), his Samadhi (deep meditation or trance) and his seeing

of परमात्मा or the Supreme Soul in his own soul (K S — III—45 to 50) and to Raghu's controlling the five kinds of bodily winds (शरीरगोचरान् पञ्च मरुत) by means of प्रणिधान or Samādhi (R V—VIII—19) and also to Raghu's attainment of the Supreme Soul or to his becoming one with the Eternal Spirit of Light by means of Samādhi—रघु योगसमाधिना तमस पर मायातीत अवयव पुरुष आपत् (R V—VIII—24)

In his attaching importance to true knowledge, good deeds and Yoga practice and his regarding salvation as oneness with the Divine Spirit, the philosophical doctrines of the Poet resemble those of the Bhagavadgītā and also those of the Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Vedānta systems of Philosophy. There is a distinct allusion to the principal tenet of Sāṃkhya in—

त्वामामनन्ति प्रकृति पुरुषार्थप्रवृत्तिनीम् ,

तद्दर्शिनमुदासीन त्वामेव पुरुषं विदुः ।—(K S —II—13)

(Sages declare thee, Brahman, as the Active Principle of Nature (प्रकृति) directing souls to their duties and also as the Neutral and Passive Soul (पुरुष) observing Nature's operations. But while Sāṃkhya insists on the absolute distinction between Soul and Matter, Kālidāsa makes them two aspects of the same Entity or Godhead, the existence of which Sāṃkhya denies for want of proof. Though the above verse is couched in the terminology of the Sāṃkhya, it breathes the spirit of the Vedānta system of Philosophy. Similarly there is a combination of the Vedānta and Yoga systems in the first verse of the Vikramorvasī—वेदान्तेषु

यमाहुरेकपुरुष अन्तर्यम् च मुमुक्षुभिर्नियमितप्राणादिभिश्च गयते— Who is designated as One in Vedānta and whom salvation desiring men seek by means of various Yoga practices The Poet identifies the individual soul with the All Soul in K S —II-15, where he says—
 स्वमेव वेद्यञ्च वेदिता चासि, जगता ज्ञेयञ्च —You are the knower and the thing to be known, the thinker and the thing to be thought Salvation (मुक्ति) is the state of beatitude resulting according to Vedānta from a union between the Individual and the Universal Souls—रघु आपद्—(See above)

The Poet refers evidently to the Purva Mimamsa of Jaimini in वागर्थोपनिषत्सम्पृक्तौ—naturally and closely connected like the word and its meaning (R V —I 1) and again in Pushya's learning Yoga from the sage Jaimini for the sake of his salvation (R V —XVIII 33) We do not know for certain whether the Poet substituted Jaimini for Patanjali in a hurry, as Jaimini's Mimamsa deals primarily with the sacred Vedic ritual and the rewards resulting from its performance. Yoga, however, may simply mean the 'union of the individual soul with the Supreme Spirit,' or Salvation, and Jaimini may teach Pushya how to attain it by the correct performance of Vedic rites

Kalidasa could not remain content with the abstract godhead of the Vedānta school, which regards salvation as being equivalent to oneness with the Supreme Soul He believed in a personal god or Mahes'vara, not in Mahes'vara alone, but in his consort Parvati as well, as the Supreme God is neither

Síva nor Umā alone, but both indissolubly united with each other, one being only one-half of the Whole (K S—VII—23 R V—I—1, M M—Prelude to Act I)—the Supreme Soul dividing itself into the male and female principles for the purpose of creation (K S—II—7 13—Śaṅkhya doctrine) and also manifesting itself in eight forms—earth, water, fire, air, ether, the sun, the moon and the worshipper—A S and M M—Prelude to Act I) The retort of Umā to the Brahman youth, who has come to blaspheme Śíva, would be used by the Poet himself to silence those who would speak ill of his favourite God (K S—V—75 to 83)

Though he invokes Mahes'vara or Śíva at the beginning of his Raghuvams'am, Mālavikāgnimitram, Vikramorvasī and Abhijñana-Sakuntalam, and in words full of deep reverence refers to the god under the names of Chandis'vara, Indumauli and Śāmbhu in his Meghadutam, and though his Kumārasambhavam is an epic dealing with Mahes'vara, his consort Umā and their son Kumāra or Kartikeya, yet the Oneness of Godhead under its apparently diverse aspects is always evident to him, and inspires him in the composition of two of the noblest hymns in the whole realm of Sanskrit literature, *viz.*, those addressed to Brahman (K S—II—4 to 15) and to Vishnu (R V—X—16 to 32), which resemble in many respects several verses of Bhagvadgita (VII—8 to 26, IX—16 to 19, and X—20 to 42) The above statement will be clear from the following verse of Kumārasambhavam (VII—44) —

एकैव मूर्तिर्विभिन्ने त्रिधा सा सामान्यमेषा प्रथमावरत्नम् ।
विष्णोर्हरस्तस्य हरि कदाचिद् वेधास्तयोस्तावपि धातूरादयौ ॥

(One Supreme Spirit divides itself into Three, the superiority and inferiority (or seniority and juniority) of which are equal sometimes S'iva becomes senior to Vishnu, sometimes Vishnu to S'iva, and sometimes Brahma becomes prior to Siva and Vishnu, and sometimes the latter to the former The same idea of the Unity of Trinity is expressed elsewhere (K S—II 4, 6, VI—23, R V—X-16) There is a close agreement between the verse enjoining the leaving of the consequences of one's actions to God (R V—X 27) and several verses of Bhagavadgītā (III 30, IV 41, IX—27, 28, XII 6)

The tolerant Poet has no objection to Pururava's and the Nymphs' addressing their prayers to the God of the Sun (V V—I and IV), because the sun like the earth is nothing but one of the greatnesses or glories (महिमा) of the Supreme Being, (R V—X 28) But he will not allow a Sudra to overstep the bounds of Varna dharma and practise the rites to which only Brahmans are entitled (तपस्यनधिकारित्वात्)—R V—XV—51, (See also p 188)

It is difficult to understand the Poet's attitude towards Buddhism He has said nothing in his works either in favour of or against it It cannot be said that Buddhism had died out before he flourished Both at Sanchi and Srinath Buddhist stupas and temples were erected from the 3rd century B.C. up to the 12th century A.D (see p 160), and beautiful

frecoes with the incidents of Buddha's life were painted at Ajanta in the latter part of the Gupta Period. Mr Havell says that Mahayana Buddhism was "one of the sectarian phases of the great Vaishnava movement of which all the Gupta Emperors from Chandragupta to Baladitya were zealous patrons"¹ Kalidasa's silence regarding the Buddhistic monuments at Sanchi in his Meghaduta, though he mentions several important and unimportant places and rivers of Malwa, and refers to the famous Vidisa (Sanchi is five or six miles from this ancient town) and even to a small hill called Nichaith, is significant. The only conclusion, which can be drawn from this is that the Poet's orthodox Brahmanism would neither allow him to come in active touch with anything Buddhistic nor to mention anything in its praise, and that his culture and the attitude of his patrons would not permit him to speak of it in depreciatory terms.

Matthew Arnold has said that culture is passion for sweetness and light. These are manifest in all the works of the Poet. Not only does he give us valuable information, but he also conveys it to us as sweetly as possible. His polished diction, his apt similes, his sound echoing the sense, his melodious numbers and their variation for avoidance of monotony, his graphic description of the beautiful and sublime in Nature, his vivid characterisation and above all his suggestiveness and sense of proportion are worthy of the highest praise. His close and sympathetic observation of Nature, his extensive travels and

1. Aryan Rule in India by E. B. Havell, p. 184

his kindly association with the various sections of the Ujjaini society laid the foundations of that culture which beautifies all his works. That he preferred the Vaidālbhī (southern) to the Gaudī (eastern) style is evident from his works, which contain all that is best in the former mode of composition.

As instances of the sound echoing the sense we may adduce भूर्जेषु मर्मरीभूता मरुत (R V—IV 73)—breezes passing through burch-leaves and producing murmuring sounds—11 which there is a repetition of / and /, R V—VI 57, where the murmur of palm leaves is imitated, k V—XIX-41, where the rustling of silk cloths is reproduced, and also—मामन्द्राणाम्फलमविकल कृत्स्नसे गजितानाम् (M D—I 36), where the thunder roll is reproduced by the letters *m*, *d*, *r* and *n* specially in मामन्द्राणाम्. Similarly—

यमात्मन सद्यनि सञ्चिच्छो मन्द्रध्वनितयाजितयामर्त्यं (R V—VI—56) echoes the deep roll of ocean waves with the sounds *m*, *n*, *d* and *r*.

The hand of the master artist is exhibited in the Poet's selection of words. He usually avoids अप्रयुक्ता or the use of non current words, असमर्थता or the use of a word in a sense which it does not generally bear, अप्रतीतता or the use of highly technical words, and छिद्यता or the use of a word in a far fetched sense.

His intimate knowledge of Grammar is shown not only in the construction of his sentences where there are very few deviations from orthodox rules, but also in his grammatical similes (See below, see also R V—III—21). Some of the Poet's transgressions of the rules of Pāṇini's grammar (See also p 38) prove accord-

ing to Mr Ramavatura Sarmā Kalidasa's priority to Subandhu and Bhṛavai who flourished in the sixth century A D and who followed Panini's rules faithfully. Some of these deviations are—*दृष्टमक्ति* (M D—I—37) and *दृढमक्ति* (R V—XII—9) which should have been *दृष्टाभक्ति* and *दृढाभक्ति* according to Panini. So *त्वमसि भविता* for *त्वं भवितासि* (M D—I—51) *पातया प्रथममास* for *प्रथम पातयामास* (R V—IX—61), *प्रभ्र शया यो नहुष चकार* for *य नहुष प्रभ्र शयाञ्चकार* (R V—XIII—36) etc., which are examples of the splitting of a verb into two parts corresponding to the splitting of the infinitive in English, may be adduced as inconsistent with the rules of Panini. Professor Sarmā concludes from these that in the time of As'vaghosha and Kalidasa, Panini's rules were not strictly followed, though they were so later on, i.e. in the time of Bhṛavai and Subandhu.¹

In the use of Figures of Speech he is unrivalled, his *forte* being simile. '*उपमा कालिदासस्य*' has become a by-word among Indians. His similes are appropriate and accurate and seem to have been suggested to his mind without the slightest effort on his part. Nature more than Man—provided him with an ample store of rhetorical ornaments. Nature both in its wild aspect as in the regions of the Himalayas and Vindhya and in its artistic garb, as beautifully modified by the human hand in the pleasure-gardens of princes, and in both of its aspects in hermitages, was the object of the Poet's ardent attachment. Among these natural objects, those which were very dear to the heart of the Poet, were hills, lakes or tanks full of

1 P p 60—61 of Kalidasa by Pandit M. Dvivedi

lotuses, mango blossoms, the flute like sound generated by the wind in hollow bamboos **मास्तपूर्णरन्ध्रै कूजद्भिः कीचकैः**—R V—II—12), peacocks and gazelles, and the married pair of the vegetable world, viz, the mango tree and any one of the creepers—**Madhavilati, Priyangulati** or **As'oka lata** (R V—VII—21, VIII—61, A S—IV and M M—IV) He knew accurately the characteristics of the different seasons—specially of Central India—and their flowers and also of the habits of lower animals as affected by the change of seasons

The sources of his metaphors, similes and analogies are various They are derived from Mythology, Morals, Politics, celestial objects, clouds, rivers, hills, trees, flowers specially lotuses, bees, swans and other lower animals, lamps and wheels, and even from Grammar and what not The union of Rāma and his brothers (R V—XI—56) with the four princesses of Mithila is like that of Prakṛiti (the nominal or verbal base) and Pratyaya (the inflexion or affix) Rāma places Sugriva on Vali's throne (R V—XII—58) as an *a'deś'a* (a substitute e g, भू) is used for a *dha'tu* (a verbal root e g, असृज्) Every member of the Raghu dynasty for example, S'atrughna, can, singlehanded, successfully check the enemy as an *apavāda* (a special grammatical rule like धुटि बहुल्वे त्वे, the application of which results in the form नरेभ्य) can suppress an *Utsarga* (a general grammatical rule like अकारोदीर्घं ओषवति, the operation of which produces such expressions as नरामयाम्) The same idea is expressed in K.S—II—27 The soldiers of Rāma follow loyally his brother S'atrughna (when he leaves Ayodhya for waging wār

with the Dūmon Lavana—R V—XV—9) as the prefix *adhi* does the root *ing* (इङ्), the combination of which means ‘to read’

As examples of beautiful metaphors and similes, we may mention among others Ritusamhara—Autumn 1, 2, and 18 (p p 210 11), Hemanta or Winter—10 (p 212) Kumārasambhavam IV-33 (p 223), V 85 (p 228) VIII 45 (p 235), Meghadūtam Purvamegha-47 (p 168) Uttaramegha—43 (p 247) Raghuvamsam—V—70 (p 258), VII—60 (p 264) VIII—15 (p 266) XIII—54 to 57 (p 282), Vikramorvasī I beginning with आविर्भूते शशिनि (p 329), Abhijñāna Śākuntalam—साक्षात् मृगतृष्णि-कायाम् (VI—99, p 360) The comparison of a dark cloud streaked with lightning to the gold lines on a touchstone is striking (M D—I—38) The comparison between the charming Śākuntala escorted by the hermits and the graceful sprig of young green leaves amidst ripe yellow ones (पाण्डुपक्षाणा मधेय किसलयमिव—A S—V-45) and that of the smile of Uman in which her pearl white teeth and rosy lips take part with the effect of the placing of the white flower on reddish sprays and with that of pearls on corals, are beautiful (K S—I—44, p 218) The analogy between the vast expanse of milk-white snow on the Himalayan peaks and the accumulated loud laughter of Mahesvara is sublime (M D—I—59, see p 151)

He shows considerable skill in the use of the figure Antithesis (विरोध) In a series of apt antitheses he describes the virtues of Dilipa—

जुगोपात्मानमकस्त्रो भेजे धर्ममनातुर ।
अगृह्णुराददे सोऽर्थमसक सुखमन्वभूत ॥

জ্ঞানে মৌন ধৰ্মা দাত্তৌ ত্যগে ইচ্ছাব্যবিসৰ্গময় ।

গুণা গুণানুৰন্ধিত্বাত্তস্য সঙ্গসৰ্বা ইব ॥R V -I 21 and 22

(কবিতেন আত্মবন্ধা, স্বভাব নির্ভয় ,

সাবিতেন ধন্য, বোগহীন অকাণ্ডব,

অলুপ্ত হইয়া অর্থ কবো সৰ্ব্ব,

অনাসক্ত হ য়ে সুখ ভুঞ্জে নৃপবব ।

জ্ঞানে মৌনী, দানে বাজা শাশা বিবর্তিত,

বৈব-নিৰ্ঘাতন ক্ষম হবে ক্ষমাপব,

একপে বিবোধ ভাব ত্যজি পবম্পব

গুণচয় তাব দেহে ছিল সন্মিলিত ।)—N D

(Though fearless, yet he fortified himself against the foe, though not ill or miserable, yet he practised piety, though not avaricious, he acquired wealth, though indifferent to pleasure, yet he enjoyed it, though learned yet he was silent, though powerful, yet for bearing, though charitable, yet free from self adulation opposite qualities dwelt in him in perfect harmony like brothers)

In another series of appropriate antitheses he describes effectively the contrast between the royal and ascetic lives of Raja and Raghu respectively (see p 266) There are also beautiful antitheses in the hymn to the Great God (R V —X—16 see p 466)

Though hyperbole (অতিশয়োক্তি) is regarded by Sanskrit Rhetoricians as the best of figures of speech, yet Kalidasa who was eminent for his sense of proportion, did not usually employ this figure. An instance of this, however, occurs in his Vikramorvas'ī—

Act II—आभरणस्याभरण प्रसाधनविधे प्रसाधनविशेष उपमानस्यापि प्रतुपमान वपुस्तमया (See p 373) Among other instances may be mentioned Dushmanta's praise of S'akuntala's graces to his Vidushaka—

चिह्ने निवेश्य परिकल्पितसत्तयोगा, रूपोच्चयेन मनसा विधिना कृता नु ।
स्त्रीरत्नसृष्टिरपरा प्रतिभाति सा मे, धातुर्विभुत्वमनुचिन्तय वपुश्च तस्या ॥

—A S—II 53

(Man's All wise Maker, wishing to create
A faultless form, whose matchless symmetry
Should far transcend Creator's choicest works,
Did call together by his mighty will
And garner up in his eternal mind
A bright assemblage of all lovely things,
And then as in a picture, fashion them
Into one perfect and ideal form—
Such the divine, the wondrous prototype,
Whence her fair shape was moulded into being—
T K R)

(शकुन्तलाकप आव विधिव शक्ति ,
এই কথা যান হয়, হাল অল্পভূতি—
নিদাতি কবোছ সৃষ্টি বয়ণী বতন,
পার্শ্বিক সৌন্দর্য বাজি ববিশা চয়ন
চিত্রিতে প্রথমে, গবে প্রদানি জীবন ॥)

The above verse seems to be made up of two verses of Kumarasambham, viz, উন্মীলিত সৌন্দর্য্যেন (I—32 see p 218) and সর্ব্বাপমা বিদৃশ্যেব (II 49 see p 366)

Also—অনাঘাত পুষ্প কিসলয়মল্লন করুহে—

রনাবিদ্ধ রক্ত মধ নবমনাঙ্গাদিতরঙ্গম্ ।

अखण्ड पुण्याना फलमिव च तद्रूपमनघ ,
न जाने भोक्तार किमिह समुपस्थास्यति विधि ॥

—A S—II 54

(This peerless maid is like a fragrant flower,
Whose perfumed breath has never been diffused ,
A tender bud, that no profaning hand,
Has dared to sever from its parent stalk ,
A gem of purest water, just released
Pure unblemished from its glittering bed,
Or may the maid haply be compared
To sweetest honey, that no mortal lip
Has sipped or rather to the mellowed fruit
Of virtuous actions in some former birth,
Now brought to full perfection ? Lives the man
Whom bounteous heaven has destined to espouse her⁴

—T K R,)

(অনাখাত পুষ্প, নথ অভি পল্লব,
অনাবিক্ত বটু, নবু অনাগীত-নব,
অথগু গুণ্যাব দোষ স্পর্শ শূভ্র-ফল,
ভোক্তা কোনজন, বিধি জানেন কেবল ॥)

The figure *অর্থান্तरन्यास* or corroboration is effectively used specially in the earlier chapters of *Kumārasambhavam*. In this figure a particular proposition in the earlier part of a couplet is confirmed by a general principle in its later portion. Instances of this are —KS—I—12 and 59, pp 146 and 220, II—55, p 220 IV—28 and 33, pp 222—3, VI—85, p 230, RV—III—29, p 256, XI—89, p 274 etc Dr Keith says, "The continuation of the *Kumārasambhavam*

shows clearly its unauthenticity by the feebleness of its efforts at this figure ¹” Sometimes a particular proposition is confirmed by another, e g , K S—I—3, p 143

His interrogations are beautiful, e g , R V—XV—64, p 290, where he describes the captivating effect of Lava and Kusá's Ramayana chanting

Sarcasm was not unknown to him Iravati's sarcastic remarks to the King when he is detected in making love with Malavika are pungent, though some times they are coarse (M M—III and IV) Ausínari's retorts on a similar occasion are more polished When the Queen presents to the King Urvásí's letter which he and his Vidushaka have been searching, the King says 'स्वागत देवै'—'Goddess, you are welcome' The Queen replies—दरागतमिदानी स वृत्तम् (Sanskritised Prakrit—my coming is not welcome (to you) at present) When the King says that he was not seeking the letter but his neck charm, the Queen remarks—युज्यत आत्मन सौभाग्य प्रच्छादयितुम्—It is meet to conceal one's good fortune (V V—II) When the exiled Sita says to Lakshmana—श्रुतस्य किं तत् सदृशं कुलस्य—R V—XIV—61 p 286) or Dhárini asks Agnimitra after she has married him with Malavika, if anything more, which is dear to him, need be done (M M—V, p 384) sarcasm attains its most refined elevation

Kālidāsa was not devoid of humour of which we cannot expect much from his Kāvya's or epics and lyrics In his works, his humour is refined and never coarse In the sixth canto of Raghuvamsá, Sunanda

in a spirit of innocent mischief asks Indumatī to leave Aja and proceed to another king, though she is aware that Raghu's son is the object of her love (See p 262) Similarly Umā playfully strikes with her wreath her female companion who after painting her feet with alaktaka humorously expresses the wish that they may touch the half moon on her husband's head (See p 231) In the diamas the repartees of Vidushakas and the pranks of female attendants, of which Vidushakas are generally butts, supply an inexhaustible fund of wit and humour When Dushmanta, for example tells his Vidushaka that Śākuntalā has not out of her good breeding distinctly expressed her love, the Vidushaka replies that the King probably does not expect that Śākuntalā will leap into his lap When the King adds that still Śākuntalā has stayed on the pretext of her foot sore and the entanglement of her bark-dress, the Vidushaka says 'Then make preparations for your marriage See you are going to transform this asceticism forest (तपोवन) into your pleasure garden (उपवन A S—II—59 to 62)'

The Poet's love of the vegetable and animal (specially antelopes and cows) worlds is to be found in all his works His love of flowers and specially of mango blossoms is well known In the Kumāra Sambhavam Uma is described as tending plants with potsful of water and entertaining such affliction for them as is incapable of being decimated even by her attachment to her favourite son Kṛtikeya (K S—V—14) Valmiki's advice to Sitā, when she is banished to his hermitage by her husband, is that she is

bound to experience the happiness of suckling children even before her children are born, if she waters plants according to her strength—R V—XIV—78) Śakuntalā embraces her creeper sister Mādhavī before she leaves Kanva's hermitage for Hastinapura and the sage thinks of marrying the Creeper in accordance with Śakuntalā's request to the Sahakara tree (A S—IV—105—6) What the great Indian knew through his poetic intuition in the fifth century has been scientifically demonstrated by another great Indian in the earlier part of the twentieth Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose (See the Calcutta Statesman of the 30th November, 1927) says, 'Sir Charles Darwin in the course of his brilliant address before the British Association in Dublin in 1908 formulated his deep conviction that it is consistent with the doctrine of continuity that in plants there exists a faint copy of what we know as consciousness in ourselves Wherein resided this plant psyche, the faint copy of consciousness? No one had the faintest conception about it I, however, so far back as 1906 established the nervous impulse in plants, which in animals causes sensation'

Several instances of the sympathy of Nature with sorrow stricken man are to be found in Kālidāsa's writings and have already been referred to (See p 288) Even Śyāma in his sympathy with Dushmanta does not show his beauties (A S—VI) Trees by bending themselves sympathise with Rāma in his afflictions when he is bereft of Sītā (R V—XIII—24) Kālidāsa also makes Nature sympathise with man in his joy When Umā, Raghu and Rāma and his brothers

are born, the sky becomes clear and the sun shines mildly and pleasant breezes blow (K S—I—23, R V—III—14, p 201, X—72 to 74)

To the Poet Nature is fraught with endless signification—e g ,

भीमकान्तैर्नृपगुणैः स बभूवोपजीविनाम् ।

अष्टज्येष्ठाभिगमयश्च यादोरखैरिवार्णय ॥—R V—I 16

(As the ocean with its beautiful gems and terrible animals both attracts and repels men, so Dilipa with his amiable and stern qualities was both loved and feared by his dependents)

Again—भवन्ति नम्रास्तरेव फलागमैर्नवान्बुभिर्दूरविलम्बिनो घना ।

अनुद्धता सत्पुरुषा समृद्धिभिः, स्वभाव एवैव परोपकारिणाम् ॥

—A S—V—43

(As trees droop when they become fruit laden, as clouds surcharged with new water bend down, so good men do not become arrogant on account of prosperity—this is the character of the kind hearted) Similarly the rising and setting of the Sun and Moon are emblematic of the ups and downs of human life —

तेजोद्वयस्य युगपद्वयस्यनोदयाभया

लोको नियमयत इवात्मदशान्तरेषु—(A S—IV—33)

The Poet holds the mirror, as it were, up to Nature. Can the description of seasons be more beautiful, vivid and accurate in detail than what we find in the Ritu samhita, Kumarasambhavam (III—25 to 29—Spring), Raghuvamsam (IV—17 to 24—Autumn, IX—24 to 47 Spring XVI—43 to 54—Summer), Meghadutam (commencement of Rains) and Malavikagnimitram (III

—the King's description of Spring), of course if some sensual passages be eliminated? We see the sublime aspect of Nature, and sometimes those of Man and Nature in the demented Pururavi's description of natural scenery (नवजलधर नोर्वशी—V V—IV), in Rama's pointing out to Sita on their return-journey the grandeur of Atri's hermitage (R V—XIII—50 to 52), and in the description of the yoga of Siva amidst an appropriate natural environment—रता स्वहस्तात् (K S—III—41 to 51) It must be said, however that the Poet is more fond of depicting the beautiful than the sublime The effectiveness of such description is due not only to his power of selecting appropriate words but also to his close and accurate observation of and hence his intimate acquaintance with Man and Nature As instances selected at random we may adduce the description of the vegetable world at the advent of Autumn—काशाशुका मालतीभि (See p 210), of the perplexity of Uma when Siva suddenly discovers himself—त वीक्ष्य विधत्ते (See p 228) and of the conduct of the gazelle and lion in the heat of summer—शृगा केशर (See p 207) How accurate and graphic is the description of midday—

पक्ष्मच्छायासु हसा मुकुलितनयना दीविकापयिनीना

सौधानप्रतयतापाद्गलभिपरिचयद्देवि पारावतानि सप्तसप्ति —

M M—II—46

(Geese with half closed eyes are resting in the shade of the lotus-leaves of the lake On account of heat pigeons are avoiding the roofs of houses Thirsty peacocks are flying towards the revolving fountain

flinging out sprays of water. As you (King Agnimitra) shine with your manifold virtue, so the sun decks the sky in all his splendour.) Here is another example of his accurate observation of natural phenomena—**हिमसेकविपत्तिरस्य मे नलिनी (पृथ्वनिदर्शनं मता)**—(R V —VIII—45)—the first instance observed by me of a soft thing being destroyed by another soft object is that of the blighting of the lotus by the fall of cold dew. How true to Nature is the following description of the morning—

ककंभूनामुपरि तुहिन रक्षयतग्रसन्बरा

दार्भं मुञ्चतुयज्जपटल वीतनिद्रो मयूर ।

वेदिग्रान्तात् सुरविलिखितादुत्थितश्चैष सद्य

पश्चादुच्चैर्भवति हरिण स्वाङ्गमायच्छमान ॥ A S —IV 35

(The early dawn tinges with red the snow-covered plum. The peacock awaking from its sleep alights from the kusā strewn roof of the cottage. The deer rising from the edges of the platform indented by its hoofs stretches its hind quarters upwards.)

The remarks of Mr. Ryder in this connexion are worth perusal—‘Kalidasa’s knowledge of Nature is not only sympathetic, it is also minutely accurate. Not only are the snow and windy music of the Himalayas, the mighty current of the sacred Ganges, his possession, his too are smaller streams and trees and every littlest flower. I have already hinted at the wonderful balance in Kalidasa’s character, by virtue of which he found himself equally at home in a palace and in a wilderness.¹ I know not with whom to com-

pare him in this, even Shakespeare for all his magical insight into natural beauty, is primarily a poet of the human heart. That can hardly be said of Kalidasa, nor can it be said that he is primarily a poet of natural beauty. The characters unite in him, it might almost be said, chemically. The matter, which I am clumsily endeavouring to make plain is beautifully epitomised in the *Cloud Messenger*. The former half is a description of external nature, yet interwoven with human feeling; the latter half is a picture of a human heart, yet the picture is framed in natural beauty. So exquisitely is the thing done that none can say which half is superior. Kalidasa understood in the fifth century what Europe did not learn until the nineteenth, and even now comprehends only imperfectly, that the world was not made for man, that man reaches his full stature only as he realises the dignity and worth of life that is not human !”

That the Poet's love for Nature was intense appears from his making even Agnimitra who is obsessed by his passion for Muvatika, exalt the beauties of his pleasure garden at the advent of Spring, above those of the fairest ladies in the verse—रक्तशोक योषिताम् (M M—III—30)—the purport of which is—Asoka flowers surpass the alaktaka-dyed lips of girls, black, white and reddish kumudikas establish their superiority to the beautiful figures painted on the bodies of ladies, and tilaka (sesamum) flowers with black bees on them excel the black spots (तिलक) with

which girls adorn their foreheads, and so it appears that Spring is bent on slighting the decoration for which women exert themselves so delightfully

The Poet's dexterity in describing moving objects excites our admiration. The descriptions of the chariot of Puruṣa moving upwards (V V—I), of the chariot of Dushmanta moving downwards (A S—VII) as his eye glances from heaven to earth in his rapid descent, of his chariot running swiftly on the ground (A S—I) and of the hunted deer running for its life (A S—I) are inimitable (See also Preface)

The Poet's graphic sketch of the deserted city of Ayodhya is a masterpiece of poetic art (R V—XVI—10 to 21). Nor less vivid is his description of Dasaratha's hunting (R V—IX—50 to 67) specially of the proud black antelope which is followed by hinds chewing kusa grass, whose motion is now and then impeded by fawns eager to suck their udders.

The Poet's delineation of child-life is no less impressive and accurate. We do not know for certain whether the Poet was married and whether he had children. But his works show his intimate acquaintance with marital state and child-life. The baby Raghu is described thus—

उवाच धातया प्रथमोदित वाचो, ययौ तदीयमवलम्ब्य चाङ्गुलीम् ।

अभूच्च नम्रं प्रणिपातशिक्षया, पितुर्मुद तेन ततान सोऽर्भक ॥

—(R V—III—25)

(The child imitated the words of his nurse, walked taking hold of her fingers, learnt bowing from her and thus increased his father's delight) In the next

verse (III—26) the Poet describes the great pleasure felt by Dilipa when he places his child on his lap. In the *Malavikāgnimitram* (Act I), the disclosure by the child Vasulakshmi of Malavika's name to the King, when Malavika's portrait is being exhibited, though against the wishes of her mother, is very natural. The description of Sarvadanana in the seventh Act of *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*—his making the lion cub show its teeth, his frowardness, his demanding his toy peacock as a substitute for the young animal and his eagerness to see his mother, when one of the attendant ladies asks him to look at the beauty of the clay bird (*सकुन्तलावण्य* —which resembles the name of his mother) are life like. It is probably not Dushmanta but Kalidasa who thus describes the exquisite pleasure felt by him when he sees his child—

आलक्ष्यदन्तमुकुलाननिमित्तहासै

अवप्रकवर्णरमणीयवच्च प्रवृत्तीन् ।

अङ्गाश्रयप्रणयिनस्तनयान् बहन्तो

धनसस्तद्वरजला मत्तिनीभवन्ति ॥—(A S —VII 70)

(বদ ঈষৎ-মুকুশিত অকাবণ হাসে,

আধ আধ কথাগুলি মনোহর ভাবে ।

অঙ্ক আবোহিতে শিশু প্রণয় জানায়,

এত পিতা বাল বজ্র লাগে বাব গায় ॥)

(How blessed the virtuous parents whose attire
Is soiled with dust by raising from the ground
The child that asks a refuge in their arms ;
And happy are they while with lisping prattle,

In accents sweetly inarticulate,
 He charms their ears, and with his artless smiles
 Gladdens their hearts, revealing to their gaze
 His tiny teeth just budding into view)—M W

Mr Ryder remarks in this connexion—"It would be difficult to find anywhere lovelier pictures of childhood than those in which our Poet presents the little Bharata (A S) A'yus (V V), Raghu (R V) and Kumāra (K S). It is a fact worth noticing that Kālidāsa's children are all boys. Beautiful as his women are, he never does glance at a little girl (Vasulaksmī?—M M). Kālidāsa could not understand women without understanding children." ¹ At another place he says 'I know of no poet, unless it be Shakespeare, who has given the world a group of heroines, so individual, yet so universal, heroines as true, as tender, as brave, as art, Indumatī, Sītā, Pārvatī, the Yaksha's Bride and Sakuntalā.' ² But we must remember that A'yus is not a child but a youth who has finished the duties of Brahmacharyyaśrama and is going to enter into Garhastyasrama (V V—V—79). This is significant and indicates most probably the age of Kumāragupta when he was installed as Yuvrāja by his father Chandragupta II.

Kālidāsa was an adept in the description of pathos. The whole of Meghadūta is an embodiment of pathos and love. The lamentation of Ratī for her dead husband (K S—IV—3 to 38), of Aja for his deceased wife (R V—VIII—44 to 69) and of Pururava for Ūrvasī (V V—IV), the exile of Sītā by Rāma (R V

—XIV—53 to 67) and the rejection of S'akuntala by her royal husband (from the latter part of Act V of Abhijnana-S'akuntalam to their reunion in Act VII) are notable instances of the pathetic

The Poet is seldom prolific. His art of condensation has been best exhibited in his summary of four hundred and fiftythree cantos of the Ayodhya, Aranya, Kishkindhya, Sundara and Lanka Kandas of Valmiki's Ramayana in only one hundred and four couplets of a single canto *viz*, the twelfth of his Raghuvams'am. Here is an example of his conciseness—

पिता वत्ता रुदन् राम प्राञ्ज्वाही प्रत्यपद्य
पश्चाद्गनाय गच्छेति तदाशा मुदितोऽग्रहीत् ॥

(R V—XII—7)

(Rama first tearfully accepted the earth given by his father, then delightfully received his command "Go to the forest ") We see here that what has been described by Valmiki in one canto (Ayodhya-kanda—XVIII) has been abbreviated by Kalidasa in one couplet. His power of abbreviation will be evident when we compare one short line of Kalidasa in which Rati says that in the presence of relatives, grief comes out of the wide-open doors (of the heart)—

(K S—IV—26)

स्वजनस्य हि दुःखमग्रतो, विवृतद्वारमिवोपजायते—

with Bhavabhuti's—

सन्तानवाहीनपि मानुषाणा, दुःखानि सङ्गन्धुविद्योगजानि ।

दृष्टे जने प्रेयसि दुःसहानि, क्षोत सहस्रैरिव सङ्गवन्ते ॥

—Uttaracharitam—IV—8,

put in the mouth of Aiundhati, when she persuades Kaus'alya to grant an interview to Janaka after the banishment by Rama of the innocent Sita.

Suggestion has been said to be the soul of Poetry. All the similes of Kalidasa are full of suggestion. It is difficult to select some passages and leave out the others. We may, however, refer to the passage of Ritusamhara, where Autumn is described as coming in the garb of a newly-married girl (See p 210). The expression 'Navabadhu' is highly suggestive and can be realised only by one who has seen a Hindu bride coming for the first time to her husband's house. Such is also the case in the passage of the Kumara-Sambhava (VI—84, see p 230) in which is described the counting of the petals of the lotus by Puvati who is swayed by various emotions—delight on account of the proposal of her marriage with Siva, and prospective keen disappointment, if the proposal be rejected by her parents—and who counts lotus petals to relieve the intensity of her contending emotions. Two instances—examples from Abhijnana-Sakuntalam—will be sufficient for our purpose. The song of the second queen Hamsapadika at the beginning of the Fifth Act (See p 355) sung from a distance is full of suggestion. Hamsapadika, whom the King selected for her beauty and other graces, and to whom after their first union the King was much attached, and who reciprocated his love with equal ardour, has been forgotten by him who has transferred his love to Vasumati. The song also suggests that Hamsapadika's fate has overtaken even a later love—

the devoted and charming S'akuntalī, who is far more unfortunate than Hamsapadikā, as she is going to be disowned publicly even as a wife. In the last Act of Abhijñāna S'akuntalam Dushmanta's son Sarva damana, pointing out Dushmanta, says to his mother—
मात क एष (Sanskritised Pīkṛit—who is he?) She says 'वत्स ते भागधेयानि पृच्छ' (Ask your Destiny or भद्रं) Mī D L Roy says that this reply is highly significant. It suggests, first her ardent affection for her child, secondly her husband's unkindness, and thirdly, the cruelty of Fate.

His alliterations in almost all cases enhance the beauty and melody of his versification. If we take at random a few verses (say 24 to 28) of the ninth canto of Raghuvams'am we find सुमधुर मधुर, विमलयन् मलयन्, द्रुमवतीमवतीर्य, कमलिनी मलिनी, and मदयिता दयिता. In the twenty-third stanza of the same canto we find—

दिनकरामिमुखा रणरेणवोरुहचिरे रुचिरेण सुरद्विषाम्—

(Das'aratha, the mighty bowman) laid (lit checked) the dust of the battle field, flying upwards in the direction of the sun, with the blood of the enemy of the gods)

His verses are characterised by clearness, force, elegance and melody. In the Kumaras'ambhavam and Raghuvams'am each canto is usually composed in one metre, which changes at the beginning of a new canto. For avoidance of monotony we further find, for instance, in the eleventh canto of the latter poem the Rathoddhata metre, which is followed towards the end by a stanza in Vasantatilaka, which again is succeeded by one in the Malini metre, while the next

canto begins with the S'loka metre or Anushtubh or the irregular stanza, each pada or quarter of which consists of eight syllables, the fifth being light (लघु) and the sixth heavy (गुरु) in all the padas and the seventh light only in the second and fourth

The prevailing metres are the Upajati and the classical form of the Anushtubh or S'loka Ritusamhara is mostly composed in Indravajra of eleven and Vams'astha vilam of twelve syllables, while Meghaduta is written in the difficult Mandakranta of seventeen syllables In the dramas we generally find Anushtubh, A'ryya, Vasantatilaka, S'ardulavikridita and Upajati It is a matter of wonder that there are so few deviations from the rules of complicated Sanskrit metres in the great Poet's works A few instances of his melodious diction are given below—

(a) शिरसि एष (R S—Rains—24,—p 209)—

शिरसि वकुल—माला मालतीभि समेता—
न न म य य —

the metre being Malini

(b) विद्युद्भन्त विशेषै (M D—II—1, p 41)—

विद्युद्भन्त ललितवनिता सेन्द्रचाप सचिता—
म भ न त त ग ग

the metre being Mandakranta

(c) तौ सन्धिसु हारम् (K S—VII—91, p 233)

तौ सन्धिसु वप्रक्षित वृत्तिभेद
त त जगग —Indravajra
र मन्त रे सु प्रति व क्षरागम् —Upendravajra } Upajati

The metre of the third and fourth lines is Upendra-
vaji.

(d) दूरादयश्चक्रनिभस्य कलङ्करेखा (R V — XIII-15, p 279)

दू रा द य इष्य क्रनि भ स्य तन्वी

त त ज ग ग — Indravajira

त मा ल ता ली व न रा जि नी ला

—Upendiavajr +

Upajati

The metre of the third and fourth lines is Indīyājra

(e) वाम सन्धिस्तिमितगुल्य नयस्य हस्त नितम्बे,

कृत्वा श्यामचिटपसदृश स्रस्तमुक्त द्वितीयम् ।

पादाङ्गुष्ठालुलितकुसुमे कृष्टिमे पातिताक्ष ,

नृत्यादस्या स्थितमतितरा कान्तमृज्वायतादम् ॥

-M M -II-18

वाम सन्धिस्तिमितवलय नयस्य हस्त नितम्बे

म भ न त

निवम्बे } Nand-
त ग ग } kranta

(f) सुभग रमणीया (Prelude to A S)—

[illegible]

सुभगसलिलावगाहा पाटलस संगंसुरभिवनयाता

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प्रच्छायसुलभनिद्रा दिवसा परिणामरमणीया

The above couplet is in the typical A'ryya metre which is said to be of non Aryan origin. In the first and third quarters or pādas, there are in each twelve matras—a hrasva or short syllable having one and a dirgha or long syllable two matras, in the second eighteen and in the fourth fifteen. Generally there

are variations, for example in the following from Vikramovars'ī—

(g) धामनवकुसुमसखकिततरुवरस्य परितरे,
मदकल-कोकिल कूजित-मधुप भ्रष्टार-मनोहरे ।
नन्दनविपिने निजकरिणी-विरहानलेन सन्तप्तो,
विश्रति गजाधिपतिरैरावतनामा ॥ (V V — IV — 75)

This stanza is probably an interpolation

अभिनव-कुसुमक्षवकित तरुवरस्य परिसरे
मयकल-कोकिल-कजित-मधपभङ्गास्मनोहरे

The first and third pādas of the above couplet have each twelve matras as in a typical Aṛya, but the second eleven and the fourth fourteen. The second couplet is very irregular. Its first and second pādas have each fourteen matras and its third and fourth have each ten matras. The metre is in intermixture of Aṛya and Gāthā.

(h) मधुकर किमसिन् (V V—IV p 336)

मधुकर । मदिराक्षया शस तस्या प्रवृत्तिम् ।

न न म य य —Muhini

(1) सरसिजमनुविद्ध नाकृतीनाम्—

(A S —1—47 see p 346)

सरसिजमनु विद्ध शैव लेनापि रमय

न न म य य — Malini

From the above it will appear that melody in the ~~Pāṇini~~ works generally arises from the employment of Māhri, Mandakrānta, Upajati A'ryyā and its variants.

Ruskin has well said that "he is the greatest artist who has embodied in the sum of his works, the greatest number of the greatest ideas" Kālidasa has done this. Besides inculcating principles conducive to our intellectual and moral edification with which all his works are more or less interspersed and besides apprising his contemporaries of the evil effects of protracted hunting (which makes a man forget his important duties) in the person of Daśaratha (R V —IX—69) and of the bad consequences of excessive sensual indulgence in the person of Agnivarna (R V —XIX—48 etc.), he has held out before us several noble ideals. The failure of Uma's charms aided by a seductive sensuous environment to win Śiva and the effectiveness of her austerities or self control in doing so, inculcate the superiority of the spiritual to the material interests of human life. The same lesson is taught by the greatest monarchs' deep reverence for hermits who are superior to them on account of their spiritual culture. The picture of Dilipa laying down his weapons and preparing his body which is according to him a mere lump of flesh—आमिषस्य पिण्डमिव—for being devoured by the Lion to save the life of the cow entrusted to him by his preceptor (R V —II—59 and 60) is an example of magnanimous dutifulness. Kautsa's obedience to his preceptor Varatantu, is highly praiseworthy. Raghu's extensive charity and reverence for those who have made the enlightenment of the intellect and spirit the sole end of their life are instructive. Ratri's devotion to her husband, that of Aja to his wife and above all Sita's heavenly love for her hus-

band shown specially by her telling Lakshmana after her banishment by Rama inspite of her innocence, that she will practise austerities in order that she may gain Rama again as her husband (R V—XIV—66, see p 287) are as beautiful as they are noble. The chief queens of the three dramas are exemplars of domestic virtue, in which self-sacrifice plays an important part. Filial piety is a characteristic of the scions of the Raghu Dynasty. There is no nobler example of filial devotion than that of Ramachandra which is described with great felicity and conciseness by the Poet in the couplet पिता अग्रहीत् (XII—7, p 275) and which again is illustrated with great skill by the Poet when he says that Rama with folded hands tells his step mother Kaikeyi after his return from exile that his father did not swerve from truth—the principal means of salvation—only for her (XIV—16). The obedience of Lakshmana, Bharata (R V—XIII—66 and 67) and S'atrughna to their eldest brother Rama has become proverbial. The bowing of victorious Rama to his insolent and humbled foe (Paras'urama) is really magnanimous (p 274). It is difficult to find a more edifying picture of the cordial relation between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law than that depicted by the Poet in the lines (R V—XIV—5 and 6, see p 284) of his great epic. The well being of their subjects is always an important consideration to the kings described by the Poet. They are told that the welfare of their subjects should be their first concern, that if they want to be Rajas, they should practise प्रजावृद्धन or satisfy their subjects (R V—IV—12), that if they want to be called

Kshatriyas they should be always ready to rescue those who are in distress and danger (R V —II—53 , see p 256), and that they should always remember that as worldly grandeur and pleasure do not pay in the long run, they should be prepared to retire to the solitude of the forest in their old age and seek in devout meditation the union of their individual souls with the Unchangeable and Immortal Spirit of the Universe (R V —VIII—11) like Raghu who—योगसमाधिना तमस पर अवयय पुरुष आपत्—VIII—24)—attained by Yoga meditation the Eternal Spirit of Light (True Knowledge)

Ruskin's sage remark has also been illustrated, as we have said already, by precepts of which the Poet's works are full. They have become proverbs like those of Shakespeare. A few instances in addition to those quoted before are given below —

अभयर्थनाभङ्गमयेन साधुर्माधवस्थमिष्टेऽप्यवलम्बतेऽर्थे—K S -I-52

(A good man, fearing that his request may be rejected, becomes indifferent even in matters much desired)

शामेयन् प्रत्यपकारेण नोपकारेण दुर्जन —K S —II—40

(A wicked man is checked not by kindness but by punishment)

प्रयोजनापेक्षितया प्रभूणा प्रायश्चल गौरवमाश्रितेषु—K S —III—1

(The favour of masters varies with the nature of the work they impose on their servants)

अप्यप्रसिद्ध यथासे हि पु सामननयसाधारणमेव कर्म—

—K S —III—19

(Even a trivial act, incapable of being performed by others, redounds to the glory of the doer)

समीरणो नोदक्षिता भवेति, वयादिज्ञाते केन हुताशनस्य ?

—K S —III—21

(Who need ask Wind to aid Fire ?)

Cf also—स्वयमेव हि वातोऽग्ने सारथ्यं प्रतिपद्यते —R V —X-40

(Wind of its own accord aids Fire)

न ह्यश्वरव्याहृतय कदाचित् पुष्पन्ति लोके विपरीतमर्थम्—

(K S —III—63)

(The words of God never bear contrary senses)

सख्यलक्ष हि इ स्वमग्रतो विवृतद्वारमिषोपजायते —K S —IV—26

(The floodgate of sorrow opens before friends and relatives)

अशनेरमृतस्य चोभयोर्वंशिनश्चास्तुधराश्च योनय —K S —IV—43

(As the cloud is the source of the (destructive) thunder and the (productive) rain, so in a self-controlled man are to be found righteous indignation and great forgiveness)

क ईप्सितार्थस्थिरनिश्चय मन , पयश्च निम्नातिमुख प्रतीपयेत्—

(K S —V—5)

(Who can resist a resolute mind fixed on a desired object and water rushing down a slope ?)

न धर्मवृद्धेषु वयं समीक्ष्यते—(K S —V—16)

(Age is of no consideration in connexion with those who are old in righteousness)

शरीरमाद्यं खलु धम्मसाधनम्—(K S —V—33)

(Health is the primary foundation of righteous ness)

सकृत् मनीषिभिः साप्तपदीनमुच्यते —(K S —V—39)

(The exchange of only seven words between good persons makes them friends, say the wise)

इत्येकमन्विष्यति, नृणां हि सत्—(K S V 45 and A, S -III

(A jewel does not seek any one, but is eagerly sought after)

कुश फलेन हि पुनर्नवता विद्यते —(K S —V—86)

(Pains undergone, when successful, look different)

स्त्रीपुमानितयनास्थैषा वृत्त हि महित सताम् —(K S —VI—12)

(Good men without heeding whether the doer is male or female, honour good conduct)

क्रियाणां बलु धर्म्मणां सत्पत्न्यो मूलकारणम्—(K S —VI—13)

(Good wives are the primary causes of virtue)

यदध्यासितमहं हिस्तद्धि तीर्थं प्रचक्षते—(K S —VI—46)

(The residence of good men is a place of pilgrimage)

अशोचया हि पितु कनया सवभर्त्तृ-प्रतिपादिता—(K S —VI—79)

(None repent when they marry their daughters to good bridegrooms)

कालप्रयुक्ता बलु कार्यविविज्जिर्विज्ञापना भर्त्तृषु सिद्धिमेति—

(K S —VII—63)

(The prayers of men wise in the choice of occasions are granted by their masters)

हेम्न सलक्ष्यते ह्यग्नौ विशुद्धि श्यामिकापि वा —R V —1—10.

(The genuineness of gold is tested only in fire)

त्माज्यो दुष्ट प्रियोऽपयासीदङ्गुलीवोरगक्षता—(R V —I—28)

(Even the dearest one, if he turn wicked, is to be discarded like the snake bitten finger)

पद हि सर्वत्र गुणैर्निधीयते —(R V —III—62)

(True merit enables one to attain a good position everywhere)

आदानं हि विसर्गाय सता बारिमुचामिव —(R V —IV—86)

(Good men accumulate wealth to give it away in charity in copious showers like clouds)

भिन्नरुचिर्हि लोक —(RV —VI—30)

(Tastes always differ)

न हि प्रफुल्ल सहकारमेतत् वृक्षान्तर काङ्क्षति चट्पदाली—

(R V —VI—69)

(A cluster of bees does not desire any other plant, when it finds a full-blossomed mango-tree)

विषमपयमृतं क्वचिद्भवेदमृतं वा विषमीद्वरेच्छया—

(R V —VIII 46)

(Poison becomes nectar and nectar poison according to Divine Will)

अपये पदमप्यन्ति हि श्रुतवन्तोऽपि रजोनिमीलिता

—(R V —IX—74)

(Even learned men when blinded by passion step into wrong paths)

अवगाक्षेपो भविष्यन्त्या कार्यसिद्धेर्हि लक्षणम्—RV —X—6

(Want of delay is the sign of future success)

भूतार्थवगाहति सा हि न स्तुति परमेष्ठिन —R V —X—33

(It is no praise of the Supreme Being, but a mere statement of facts)

काले खलु समारब्धा फल वक्षन्ति नीतय —(R V —XII—69)

(Policy applied at the proper time bears fruit)

अपि स्वदेहात् किमुतेन्द्रियार्थदयशोधनाना हि यशो गरीय —

—(R V —XIV—35)

(Those who prize honour regard it as more valuable than their own persons, not to speak of the pleasures of the senses)

आज्ञा गुरुणा ह्यविचारणीया

—R V —XIV—46

(The commands of seniors should not be questioned)

स्वाङ्गभिस्त विषयेह^१ तस्ततो, इ खमिन्द्रियगणो निवार्यन्ते

—R V —XIX—49

(The senses when they have once been led astray by worldly temptations, can be reclaimed with difficulty)

याचना मोवा वरमधिगुणे नाधमे लब्धकामा —(M D —I—6)

(Even a fruitless prayer to a great 'man is better than a fruitful one to a mean person)

रिक्त सर्व्वी भवति हि लघु पूर्णता गौरवाय —(M D —I—20)

(Everything empty becomes light, fulness contributes to eminence)

मन्दायन्ते न खलु सुहृदामभयपेतार्थकुतया —(M D —I—39)

(Those also have promised to do good to their friends are never remiss)

आपन्नार्त्तिप्रशमनफला सम्पदो दुःखतमानाम् —(M D —I—54)

(The wealth of the great has for its object the alleviation of the distress of the afflicted ¹)

केषा न स्थ परिभवपद निस्फलारम्भयत्ना —(M D —I—55)

(Who does not become an object of ridicule, if he undertakes a fruitless task ?)

कस्यैकान्त सुखमुपनत द खमेकान्ततो वा,

नीचै गच्छन्नुपरि च दशा चक्रेनेमिक्रमेन । —(M D —II—48)

(একান্ত ইবব, সস্তাপ বিষম,

নিয়তি শাসনে, কদিন তবে,

জীবন ঘূর্ণিত—চক্রেনেমী সম

কত উর্কে, কত মাটিব উপরে)—B C M

(Trust to futurity, for still we view,
The always wretched, always blest are few,
Life like a wheel's revolving orb turns round,
Now, whirled in an now diagg'd along the ground)
—W

प्रतुष्ट हि प्रणयिषु सतामीप्सितार्थक्रियेव —(M D —II—53)

(The answer of a good man to his beloved is the fulfilment of the latter's desire)

बलवदपि शिक्षितानामात्मन्यप्रतप्य चेत् —(A S -I, Prelude—6)

(Even the highly learned cannot rely wholly on themselves)

अथवा भवितव्यानां द्वाराणि भवन्ति सर्व्वतः —(A S —I—37)

(The entrance gate to Futurity exists everywhere)

ध्रुवः स नीलोत्पलपत्रधारया

शमीलता छेतुर्धृषिर्वाजस्यति । —(A S I—42)

(It is certain that the sage wants to cut the (haid) creeper S'am with the (soft) edge of the leaf of the blue lotus)

किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम् —(A S —I—47)

(What does not adorn those who are naturally beautiful ?)

आशङ्कसे यदग्निं तदिदं स्पर्शक्षमं रत्नम् —(A S —I—110)

(What you feared as fire has now become a touchable jewel)

गच्छति पुरं शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्थितं चेत् ।

धीनाशुक्रमिव केतोः प्रतिपद्यत नीयमानसः ॥ —(A S —I—132)

(Though my body is going forward, yet my restless mind is being taken backwards (by the thought

of S'akuntal), as the flag made of Chinese silk is made to flutter backwards by a contrary wind)

तत गण्डस्य उपरि पिण्डक सवृत्त (Sanskritised Prakrit
—As —II—1)

Bengali—(গণ্ডের উপর আবার बिण्फाटक)—(Moreover a boil has been forming on the cheek)

स्निग्धजनसखिमक्त हि दुःख सहजवेदन भवति—A S —III—33
—Sanskritised Prakrit—(Grief shared with the beloved becomes endurable)

क इदानी शरीरनिर्व्वापयिषी शारदीया ज्योत्स्ना आतपसेन वारयति
—(A S —III—56)

(Who wants to intercept the soothing autumnal moonlight with his umbrella ?)

बिदक्षित ह्यनुक्तमनुताप जनयति — (A S —III—77)

(The suppression of things, one need tell, begets repentance)

स्नेह पापदाह्नी—(A S —IV —138, Sanskritised Prakrit)
(Affliction begets fear)

गच्छ शिवास्ते सन्तु फण्यान —(A S —IV—147)

(Go, may your journey be propitious !)

क्षणात् प्रबोधमायाति लङ्घयते तमसा पुन ।

निर्वास्यत प्रदीपस्य शिखेव जरतो मति ॥—(A S —V—4)

(As a dying lamp gives out momentary flashes (amidst thick darkness), so the intelligence and memory of an old man manifest themselves for a short while amidst protracted oblivion and infatuation)

राज्यं स्वहस्तधृतदण्डमिवातपन्नम् । —(A S —V—7)

(Royalty is burden some like holding an umbrella with one's own hand)

ज्वलति चक्षितेन्धनोऽग्निर्विप्रकृत पन्नग फण कुरते ।

तेजस्वी सक्षोभात् प्राय प्रतिपद्यते तेज ॥ —(A S —VI—231)

(As fire blazes when it is stirred up with a fuel-stick, as a serpent lifts up its hood (in anger) when it is struck, so a spirited person shows his valour when he is excited)

प्रबलतमसामेव प्राया शुभेषु हि वृत्तयः ।

क्षममपि शिरस्यन्ध क्षिप्त्वा धुनोत्तद्विशङ्कया ॥ —A S —VII-127)

(The conduct of an infatuated person even to words things, which are beneficial to him, is this—he flings on the ground the wreath placed on his head, fearing it as a viper)

छाया न मूर्च्छति मलोपहतप्रसादे,

शुद्धे तु दर्पणतले सुलभावकाशा । —(A S —VII 162)

(A soiled mirror does not reflect distinct images only a clean one does)

मूढ परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धि —(M M —Prelude to I—6)—Only

fool guides himself by another's belief

अर्थं संप्रतिबन्ध प्रभुरधिगन्तु सहायवान् एव ।

इक्ष्वा तमसि न पश्यति दीपेन विना सन्धश्चरपि ॥ —(M M —I-61)

(The object surrounded by impediments can be attained with adequate help The eye cannot see things in the dark without the lamp)

सर्वज्ञस्यापेयकाकिनो निर्णयामुपगमो दोषाय —(M M —I 125)

(Even an all-knowing person should not decide an important thing alone)

पत्तने विद्यमानेऽपि ग्रामे रत्नपरीक्षा ? — (M M —I—98)

(Do you want to test a gem in a village, when you can do so easily in a town ?)

मन्दोऽप्यमन्दतामेति स सर्गेण विपश्चित् — (M, M —II—22)

(The dull become clever in the company of the wise)

यदेवोपनत इह सुखं तद्धि रसान्तरम् ।

निर्वाणाय तरुच्छाया तप्तस्य हि विशेषत ॥—(V V —III—143).

(Things, which are painful at first, become pleasant in course of time, as the shade of trees becomes agreeable specially to those suffering from heat)

भवितव्यता इत्य बलवती (Sanskritised Prakrit—

V V —IV—11).

(Destiny is so powerful)

को देवरहस्यं चिन्तयति—Sanskritised Prakrit—

V V —V—37.

(Who will gauge Divine mystery ?)

न खलु वयसा जातैर्याय स्वकार्यसहो गुण — (V V —V —101)

[Fitness for (responsible) work does not depend on age or caste]

We are constrained to reject summarily several spurious works which have been fathered upon the Poet—*vis*, (1) Pushpavanavilasa and (2) Nalodaya, in which the Poet is made to invoke at the outset Krishna to whose amours with the Gopinis, there is a pointed reference, which is not in the manner of Kalidasa, who addresses his prayers to Śiva (See also p.p 463 64, Vrindavana), (3) Dvātrims'at Puttalika or the story of thirtytwo Dolls, which refers to the Bhoja-

raja who flourished much later, and Sringara-rasash takam and Sringara tilakam, in both of which are to be found sensual passages, which in their crudeness surpass those found in the Poet's works. Further in the former, one of the best passages of Kumāra-Sambhavam, *vis*, तवीक्ष्य तस्यौ (V—85) is inserted, which seems to be quite inconsistent with the trend of the poem, and in the latter Bengalee courtesans are mentioned, to which the other works of the Poet do not afford any parallel.

“The Hindus never had any building appropriated to public entertainments. It appears from several of the dramas that in the palaces of kings there was a chamber or hall known as sangitaśālā, the music-saloon in which dancing and singing were practised and sometimes exhibited”,¹ as is mentioned in M M — I-27. A dramatic exhibition “was not an ordinary occurrence or an amusement of the people, but it was part of an occasional celebration of some solemn or religious festival”². Mālavikāgnimitram was composed on the occasion of the spring festival (Holi, Act I, Prelude-4) but no festivals are referred to in connexion with Abhijñāna Śākuntalam and Vikramorvasī. “The stage was termed Rangabhūmi or Nepathya, but the latter term was also applied to the ‘Within’, as sounds or exclamations off the stage were said to occur in the Nepathya. It was often said where a character made his appearance under the influence of hurry or alarm, that he or she entered *apatishhepena* (A S I-3) or with a toss of the curtain. It seems possible that

curtains were suspended transversely so as to divide the stage into different portions. The properties were as limited as scenery, but seats, thrones, weapons and cars with live cattle were used. Costume was always observed and various proofs occur of the personages being dressed in character. Females were represented in general by females. There is no want of instruction for stage business, and we have the *asides* and *aparts* as regularly indicated as in the modern theatre in Europe.¹

Dr Keith, while appreciating the genius of Kalidasa as a lyric, descriptive, epic and dramatic Poet, says that he cannot expect from him any solution of the mysteries of life, that the Poet shows no interest in the great problems of life and destiny, and that he is incapable of viewing the world as a tragic scene, of feeling any sympathy for the hard lot of the majority of men or of appreciating the reign of injustice in the world.²

That Kalidasa could rise to a tragic elevation, cannot be questioned. From the temporary separation of the Yaksha from his sweet heart in his *Meghaduta*, we pass on to longer and more tragic ones in the cases of *Sakuntala*, *Sita* and *Rati*. Sorrow reaches its tragic height in Râma's quest of Sita after her kidnapping by Ravana and in Pururavi's frenzy, in which they ask objects animate and inanimate about their beloved ones. The highest height of sorrow is, however, attained in Aja's bereavement—the death of the most beautiful and accomplished Indumati, who selected

1 Ibid

2 S D —p 160, and C S L —p 45

him as her bridegroom in the memorable Svayamvara scene at Vidarbha, and whom he could take home only after an arduous fight with discontented and envious princes who wanted to marry her, and whose dead body could be removed with great difficulty from his embrace for funeral decoration and consignment to the sandal wood pyre (R V—VIII—71)

Dr Keith does not say what the mysteries and problems of life are. We take them to be these—Why is misery in this world? Does the soul survive the body after death? If it does, what becomes of it? Does the Providence of God guide the universe? If these are the problems and mysteries, Kālidāsa suggests them and even solves them according to his lights. He believes in the existence of pain and misery. But he does not paint them blacker than what they really are. He is an optimist. He sees even a soul of goodness in things evil. Only an ignorant man regards a calamity (like Aja's bereavement—R V—VIII—88) as a painful thorn in his side, but a wise man considers it as the veritable gate of good (कुसल द्वार). Pain and misery, he says, are due to our misdeeds either in this life or in our past lives. Śakuntalā in her love-absorption transgresses the laws of hospitality. Ratī abets her husband in disturbing Śiva's meditation. Tāraka and Ravana oppress men and gods. They have to suffer. But repentance and good deeds bring about the mitigation of the evil, which has overtaken a person. The law is—As you sow you shall reap. This is the law of Karma, similar to the doctrine of Necessity as underlay the

belief of the Greeks in their Fates and Furies. The law of Karma is not inexorable. There is sufficient scope for Free Will to mitigate its rigour. The soul survives the body and is born again, and becomes happy or miserable according to its previous deeds. But if they are sufficiently noble and good, one can dwell like Kusa and his wife for long with the gods. Almost all the kings of the Raghu dynasty retire from the world in their old age and by means of Yoga and austerities terminate their earthly life to enjoy the bliss of heaven. Ascetics like Śaśabhaṅga burn themselves on the funeral pyre in this belief. Although there are numerous gods, the different aspects of the same Divinity, all worship leads to one goal (See p 467). But one has to select one as one's chief God, as Kṛiḍiśa selected Mahes'vara (See also p 492),

The charge that Kṛiḍiśa does not depict a good man striving against an inexorable doom and a wicked man of powerful intellect and ability perishing after a hard struggle, is refuted by the pictures of Rati, Aṅgī, Sakuntalā and Sitā on the one hand and Paraka and Rivina on the other.

The difference between an Indian and a Greek of ancient times might, however, be this—while a Greek would submit patiently to an inexplicable misfortune in the belief that the Fates who were more powerful than even the Gods had ordained it, an Indian would resign himself to it regarding it as a condign punishment for his past misdeeds—**समैव जन्मान्तरपातकानां विपाकं विस्मृज्युग्रप्रसङ्ग**—a severe calamity like the lightning-stroke, due to the misdeeds of my past life (B V—

XIV—62) Though it is difficult to adjudge the superiority of one to the other, still the Indian should not be blamed, if his logical and religious instinct would devise an explanation for the calamity which he had not been, inspite of his best efforts, able to avert. Kālidāsa does not simply raise doubts, but dispels them at the same time. His reasoning may be fallacious. But we must remember that he is a poet and not a philosopher. The object of poetry is to delight and edify us and not merely to fill our minds with doubt and despondency of which there is enough in this world.

There are some important points of agreement between Kālidāsa and Shakespeare. The plots of both are borrowed from others. Both discard the unities of space and time. In the works of both as distinguished from Greek dramas there are a comparative paucity of the lyric element and the absence of Chorus (See also p 310). Both mix prose with poetry and the serious with the comic. Both introduce a play within a play as in *Vikramorvaśī* on the one hand and *Hamlet* and *Midsummernight's Dream* on the other. Fools are to be found in the dramas of both. Both further the action of their plays by means of letters, as in *Vikramorvaśī* and *Sākuntalā*, and in *Cymbeline*, *Merchant of Venice* and several others.

Not only in discarding the unities of space and time but also in another important respect Kāli-

1 To say as some have done that Vidushakas have been derived from Greek dramas seems to be as preposterous as to say that Gopāl Bhand of Rājā Kṛṣṇachandra had a European origin.

dasa seems to be superior to Greek Dramatists. He could never have chosen Clytemnestra's adultery and murder of her husband, Orestes's murder of his mother and Oedipus's marriage with his mother as the themes of his dramatic compositions. The test of the highest art is its capacity for not only affording us delight, but also its ability to give us an insight into the true nature of things and a stimulus to repress our baser passions and to direct us along the path in which we may be enlightened and ennobled. There are numerous things in this world, which render the darkness of our intellect thicker and incite our lower impulses. We therefore expect our literary heroes to help us to know the truths we do not know and live a higher life which unaided we cannot live.

As we have already stated, the plots of Kalidasa like those of Shakespeare are borrowed from others. The plot of Vikramorvasi resembles the story of Pururavas given in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matsyapurana, that of S'untala, the story in the A'diparva of the Mahabharata, and that of Malavikagnimitram, though based on a historical incident, may have been taken from an earlier version of the story. But though the matter is not the Poet's own, he has like Shakespeare transformed it into a new thing by giving a new orientation to the original, by adding new characters and by developing the old ones in a way not dreamt of by their authors.

The stories of the plays resemble one another to some extent (See also p 367). In each there are a king who is the hero, a chief queen, and in Malavi-

kāgnimitram and Abhijñana Śākuntalam junior queens, a heroine—a girl of whom the king becomes enamoured, a Vidushaka like the fool in Shakespeare, a Kanchukī or chamberlain, clever female attendants, a son who is a child in Vikramorvasī and Śākuntala, and a victorious youth in Mālavikāgnimitram in which, however, there is also a child in the person of the girl Vasulakshmi. The queen becomes in each play jealous of the newcomer. Śākuntala like Urvasī pretends that her bark-dress has become entangled in the branches of a tree. She writes a letter to her lover like the nymph. The Vidushaka is always hungry and the Kanchukī complains of his old age. Vasulakshmi plays with a *banduka*, Ajus with a live peacock, and Bharata with a live lion and also with a moving clay peacock. In Mālavikāgnimitram and Abhijñana Śākuntalam, the hero overhears the conversation of the heroine with her attendants. In Vikramorvasī it is the heroine who does so. The chief queen in Vikramorvasī and the second queen in Mālavikāgnimitram watch their husbands from places of concealment and then spring surprises upon them. In Abhijñana Śākuntalam and Vikramorvasī, the hero moves in the air in the region of the air in a chariot and describes vividly to the charioteer its progress in the skies. Love is the subject of the three dramas. The hero and heroine become hopelessly enamoured of each other at first sight.

So many points of agreement would naturally make the plays a monotonous reading, but the Great Dramatist has handled them in such a way as to render them imperceptible to the general reader.

We cannot agree with Dr Keith, when he says that Kālidāsa's dramatic characters are types¹. As Dr Macdonell says, they are individuals² and all the kings, queens, vidushakas and female attendants can be easily differentiated from one another. Like Shakespeare Kālidāsa does not repeat himself in his characters. In the characterisation of different kinds of men and women and in the description of the sublime and beautiful aspects of Nature, the Poet shows his skill as a master artist.

Kālidāsa was like Shakespeare the epitome of his age. Much of the life history (Chap VIII) of his countrymen in this period—their manners and customs, their modes of thought and expression are treasured up in his writings. In the field of drama specially in its range Kālidāsa is distinctly inferior to Shakespeare, who in his numerous dramatic works has delineated all the aspects, both light and grave of Nature and Man, and specially of the latter, has fathomed all the depths of the human heart, has ascended from the basest buffoonery to the most refined repartee, from the most ignoble passion to the most sublime emotion, from a man like Iago to a man like Othello, from a mischievous sprite like Caliban to a magnanimous king philosopher like Prospero, from a Goneril to a Cordelia and from the fiendish Lady Macbeth to the divine Desdemona. Though it will be idle to adjudge the comparative merits of Kālidāsa's *Ritusamhara* (a descriptive and lyrical—more descriptive than lyrical—poem) and Shakespeare's *Sonnets*

1 S D p 282

2 S L p 350

and Venus and Adonis it may safely be said that both abound with beautiful descriptions of Nature and sensuous (if not sensual) appeals to the human heart. But Shakespeare has nothing to match the inimitable lyric, *viz.*, the Meghadutam of Kalidasa. Again in the sphere of Epic, there is no work of Shakespeare which we can compare with Kalidasa's Kumarasambhavam or Raghuvams'. Critics have said enough when they have stated that as the English Poet has been preeminent in probing the recesses of the mind of Man, so the Indian Bard has been in sounding the depths of the heart of Nature. Only poets like Kalidasa and Shakespeare—

The bards sublime

Whose distant footsteps echo

Through the corridors of time¹—

can estimate each other's genius. The attempts of meaner men to appraise the music of the Nightingale of Stratford and the melody of the Cuckoo of Ujjain are like those of the man who 'being a dwarf wants to pluck fruit from the highest branch of a tree or of the man who wants to 'cross the wide ocean in a frail raft'²

¹ Longfellow

² R V—I—2 and 3

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